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# USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

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21 April 1986

## USSR REPORT TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No 1, January 1986

Translations from the Russian-language theoretical organ of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).

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## NEW DOCUMENT BY VLADIMIR ILICH LENIN

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 86 (signed to press 2 Jan 86) p 3

[Text] Following is a translation of a previously unpublished letter in German by V. I. Lenin, dated 27 December 1889 (Julian calendar) sent from Samara to Leipzig, addressed to the F.A. Brockhaus Bookstore. The document is a postcard addressed personally by Vladimir Ilich to the company; the back includes the letter and the Samara return address (answer prepaid). Both the text and the face of the postcard include notes made by the associate at the bookstore on the availability and price of the books requested by Lenin.

In his letter, Lenin enumerates the books he needs, enquires about their price and conditions for shipping them to Samara. The books include the second German edition of the first volume of K. Marx's "Das Kapital," his work "On the Critique of Political Economy" and Engels' "The Situation of the Working Class in England" and other of his works.

This document is yet another confirmation of the stubborn efforts on the part of the young Lenin to master the theory of Marxism. During his Samara period he made a thorough study of "Poverty of Philosophy," "Anti-Duhring" and other basic works by Marx and Engels, abstracted some of them, taught classes on "Das Kapital" with students of the A.P. Sklyarenko circle, and translated the "Communist Party Manifesto," which was then read in the clandestine circles of Samara and Syzran.

The document shows Lenin's tremendous interest in the works of the founders of Marxism, published in the original language, and his desire to read in the original publications quoted and criticized by Marx and Engels in their works. It is no accident that the books requested by Lenin include "The History of England" by Macaulay. This author is frequently mentioned in the first volume of "Das Kapital" as a "systematic falsifier of history" (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 23, pp 283, 728 and others.

Lenin's letter was discovered by H. Kraus and A. Lippold, docents at the Leipzig Higher School and presented as a gift to the CPSU Central Committee by Comrade E. Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the GDR State Council, during his friendly visit to the Soviet Union in May 1985.

The document is currently kept at the Central Party Archive of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism. Its publication was prepared by N. G. Abramova, senior scientific associate at the institute.

CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism

Samara, 27/8 December

Sir!

I would very much like to establish direct relations with a German book trading company for the purpose of purchasing some German books. To this effect, could you please answer the following questions:

1. Does your bookstore accept payment in Russian bank notes? What is a Russian ruble worth now in Leipzig?
2. Does your bookstore receive lists of books the importation of which into Russia is forbidden by Russian censorship?
3. What would the cost of shipping books to Samara be?
4. What is the price of the following books: 1. G. Roskoshnyy, "Poor Russia," 1889. 2. Macaulay, "History of England," Tauchnitz edition. 3. K. Kautsky's "Works." 4. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital," vol 1, second edition. "On the Critique of Political Economy." Berlin, 1859. 5. G.F.V. Brandes, "Works." 6. Fr. Engels. "The Situation of the Working Class in England" and his other works. If possible, could you send me a catalog of books on political economy and philosophy.

V. Ulyanov

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## EDITORIAL -- YOUNG WORLD ASPIRING TO THE FUTURE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 86 (signed to press 2 Jan 86) pp 4-12

[Text] The CPSU--the party of true internationalists--naturally links the socialist present and communist future of our country with the successes of the entire world revolutionary movement. However, no one would blame the Soviet communists for the fact that their minds and hearts are particularly inclined toward the young world of socialism aspiring toward the future.

As a result of the upsurge in the liberation movement, related to the victory of the forces of democracy in progress over those of fascist tyranny and reaction in World War II, socialism, which initially became a reality in our country, turned into a global system. Today hundreds of millions of people are following the path of communist construction. The party, as is noted in the draft of the new edition of its program, strives toward establishing firm comradely relations and comprehensive cooperation between the USSR and all members of the world socialist system.

References to the socialist world, socialist countries, their community, socialist internationalism and socialist economic integration may be found in all parts of the draft, in virtually all of its sections, and not only those dealing with international affairs. This is no accident. It is a legitimate reflection of the commonality of historical destinies of the fraternal peoples and a confirmation of the inseparable ties among the basic and strategic tasks of domestic policy, formulated by the party, and successes and concerns of world socialism.

The deep foundation of such ties are found in Lenin's concept of the objective process of internationalization of social life: "...The entire economic, political and spiritual life of mankind is becoming increasingly internationalized while still under capitalism. Socialism internationalizes it entirely" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 23, p 318). This is one of the basic tenets of the conceptual foundation of the CPSU program. Tested and enriched by practice, it remains one of the most important supporting structures of our chief party document. In providing a clear and expanded characterization of its strategic tasks in the area of cooperation with the socialist countries, the CPSU derives them from a realistic analysis of processes noted in recent decades, based on Marxist-Leninist science.

That period provided convincing proof of the fact that a new and unheard of type of internationalization of the economy, politics, ideology, culture and all social life, brought to life by socialism, is embodied in its most vivid and complete form in the world socialist community.

The powerful influence of real socialism, which has proclaimed as its objective expelling war from the life of society, rescuing the peoples from the burden of the arms race and establishing durable and reliable peace, is manifested on an increasingly broad scale and greater visibility in international affairs. "The socialist community," stipulates the draft new edition of the CPSU program, "is the most authoritative force of our time, without which no single problem of world politics can be resolved; it is a firm bulwark of peace on earth, the most consistent defender of healthy, peaceful and democratic principles in international relations and the main obstacle in the path of imperialist reaction."

Our party considers the comprehensive strengthening of the friendship and the development and advancement of relations between the Soviet Union and the members of CEMA and the Warsaw Pact objects of its particular concern.

The fraternal states live and build their future in a state of close alliance, the binding force of which are the communists and workers parties. In order for this alliance to strengthen constant contacts must be maintained among the ruling parties, including comradely advice, mutual enrichment of experience in the management of society and the making of joint decisions and specific agreements.

The interaction among the members of the community has been steadily advancing over the past 25 years. Its mechanism has become more comprehensive and new links triggered by the needs of reality have appeared within it. Today it is a streamlined system which includes the Warsaw Pact, CEMA and the totality of bilateral friendship, cooperation and mutual aid treaties.

At the summit meeting of party and state leaders of Warsaw Pact members, which was held in Warsaw in April 1985, the allied states unanimously resolved to extend its effect. This decision reflects their inflexible will to strengthen friendship and cooperation and to pursue a joint coordinated course in international affairs. The most important role played by the military-political alliance based on this treaty was particularly emphasized at the conference of the Political Consultative Committee, attended by senior representatives of the fraternal countries, held in Sofia last October.

In the course of high level bilateral and multilateral meetings the most important problems of relations among socialist countries are considered and resolved and the strategy of their interaction in the international arena is formulated. Regular conferences are being held by secretaries of central committees of fraternal parties on international, ideological, economic and organizational-party problems. The work of the committee of foreign affairs ministers contributes to the coordination of foreign policy activities. A committee of defense ministers has been set up for the purpose of ensuring the safety of the Warsaw Pact members.

The CPSU will continue to promote the expansion of interparty relations, on all party levels, from central committees to primary organizations, for the sake of further developing and advancing cooperation which strengthens the unity among party members in the fraternal countries.

Such work, which has always been important, becomes particularly significant today. The majority of ruling parties in the socialist countries have undertaken direct preparations for their forthcoming congresses. Each one of them has its specific features related to the fact that the current stage in the life of the members of the community is a turning point in many aspects, for a major acceleration of socioeconomic progress must be achieved. This will have to be accomplished under difficult international circumstances which require the formulation of new approaches and the making of major basic decisions. All of this sets new requirements concerning interaction among fraternal countries.

The 1961 CPSU program contained the profoundly substantiated conclusion that a new type of economic relations and international division of labor were developing among the socialist countries. Tremendous changes have taken place in this area since then, related both to the quantitative growth of cooperation as well as its enhancement to a qualitatively different level. These changes are a most vivid expression of the objective process of comprehensive socialization of production and labor. In the past 25 years this process has been characterized by an increasingly energetic expansion beyond national borders and a growing internationalization of economic life. It is precisely within this period of time that a transition to the implementation of the historical trends of internationalization of economic life toward its current higher form--socialist economic integration--legitimately prepared by the entire previous development, took place. A new stage began in relations among fraternal countries--the stage of increasing integration.

As was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, integration has become the type of instrument for cooperation without which the confident development of any socialist country and its ability successfully to resolve most important problems, such as ensuring the availability of energy and raw material resources and applying the latest achievements of science and technology, becomes impossible.

In the current formulation of its programmatic tasks in the area of relations with the socialist countries, the CPSU takes into consideration these changes and many new features in the economic, social and political life of the members of the community, which have marked their development in recent years. The main thing here is that the majority of fraternal countries, having virtually exhausted the possibility of extensive growth, have reached a plateau at which the need and urgency of shifting the economy to a primarily intensive development has become most clearly apparent. Life itself sets to the countries of the community the common task of radical intensification of social production.

A sharp turn to intensification is possible only on the basis of the latest achievements of science and technology. No alternatives to scientific and

technical progress exist under contemporary conditions. A lagging in that area entails the threat of political costs and has adversely affected the destinies of individual countries and the overall socialist cause. A profound understanding of this task of historical importance, which is not only of economic but also of great political significance, was fully reflected in the drafts of the new edition of the CPSU program and the Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period Until the Year 2000. They also indicate that progressive equipment and technology cannot be mastered without increased concentration of material and intellectual resources and their improved organizational efficiency. That is why our party ascribes such great importance to the further intensification of socialist economic integration.

The main task of the integration is organically to combine the efforts of the individual countries in following the key directions of production intensification. Laying a firm foundation for the formulation of a coordinated and, in some areas, also a unified scientific and technical policy assumes particular importance in this case. The 1984 summit economic conference and subsequent meetings of heads of fraternal countries formulated the main areas for the combination and application of joint efforts with a view to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. This involves the electronization of the national economy, comprehensive automation, development of a nuclear power industry, the creation and mastery of new materials and new production and processing technologies and the achievement of biotechnology.

The choice of these priority trends is a major result of the coordination of economic policy. They constitute the foundations of and were strengthened by the collective Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress of CEMA Members Until the Year 2000, which was adopted at the 41st (extraordinary) CEMA session.

The fraternal countries link the solution of basic national economic problems, such as social production intensification, enhancement of its efficiency and attaining advanced levels of science and technology, to this comprehensive program. Success in mastering the heights of the scientific and technical revolution, for which socialism offers tremendous opportunities, determines the fullest identification of its advantages and the fast growth of the economic, social and spiritual potential of our countries and their technological independence and invulnerability to imperialist pressure and blackmail.

Having considered the results of the CEMA session, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo noted that its results and the comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress by CEMA member countries until the year 2000, adopted at the session, were a major step in implementing the resolutions of the summit economic conference and a most important event in the life of the socialist community. The comprehensive program has been assigned a special role in accelerating socioeconomic progress in our country and in the fraternal socialist countries and ensuring a radical upgrading of labor productivity and the increased prestige and influence of socialism in the world. Its implementation will contribute to the further intensification of



socialist economic integration among CEMA members. All of this assumes major political significance in the light of the joint efforts made by the fraternal socialist countries to strengthen their cohesion and unity. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo stressed the particular significance of the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and the heads of delegations of socialist countries and secretaries of central committees of fraternal parties participating in the session. His presentation of the essential approach to basic problems of acceleration of scientific and technical progress and domestic economic and international policy met with total support and understanding.

The adoption and implementation of the comprehensive program mark the further development of socialist internationalization and the appearance of a new quality in the interaction among fraternal countries: the growth of their cooperation in science and technology into technological integration, developing of the basis of coordinated or unified scientific and technical policy. It is believed that this fact of basic significance should be reflected in the new edition of the CPSU program.

The five priority areas of work included in the comprehensive program are consistent with the requirements of the new stage of the scientific and technological revolution, taking into consideration its basic trends and possible areas of development of scientific thinking. It was noted at the CEMA session that the world is increasingly entering a new "technological" stage of scientific and technological progress, characterized by the comprehensive reorganization of the production process, its direct interaction with science, and enhanced requirements concerning cadre training and skills and forms and methods of management. A transition is taking place from uncoordinated progressive technologies and technical means to new generations of integrated technological systems. In this case the market for technological exchanges has been developing at a headlong pace: it has nearly quadrupled over the past 10 years. The frontal technological revolution experienced by the contemporary world allows researchers to formulate the concept that the scientific and technological revolution has grown into a scientific-production revolution.

The nature of such phenomena is global, influencing and subordinating the economic dynamics of all developed countries in the world, including the socialist ones. However, as was pointed out at the session, the possibilities offered by scientific and technological progress and of the joint resolution of scientific and technical problems are by no means sufficiently used by the socialist countries.

The comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress is of strategic significance to our countries. This assessment is based not only on the viewpoint of internal tasks and development factors of each of the fraternal countries and their community as a whole, but also on the view of the contemporary political situation in the world. The intensification of the integration process and its conversion to deeper and more advanced forms of cooperation on the basis of the latest scientific and technical accomplishments is dictated by external factors as well.



Whereas in the 1970s integration interaction took place in an atmosphere of detente and expanded economic cooperation between East and West, today we must take into consideration a drastic aggravation of the international situation. In its uninterrupted pressure exerted on socialism, imperialism is using the weapons of economic blockade, boycott and "sanctions," hurling a technological challenge to the members of the community and virtually engaging in technological warfare against them.

The trends noted above in the development of production forces generate in imperialist circles special hopes of achieving "technological hegemonism." The final objective in this case is to isolate the socialist countries from the world contemporary technological market, hinder their economic development and violate the existing military-strategic parity. Let us take as an example the notorious SDI--the "strategic defense initiative"--of the present American administration. This is an openly militaristic program. However, it includes another, broader and more profound, plan: by imposing an arms race involving new quality features to try to ensure the permanent technological superiority of the United States above all over the socialist community. Nor should we exclude the fact that governmental and intergovernmental scientific and technical programs formulated in the West are consistent with the general imperialist line of shifting the competition between the two systems from normal to extreme conditions, the consequence of which would be the technological lagging of the socialist countries.

The economic cooperation between socialist and capitalist countries is natural and useful if conducted under equal and mutually profitable conditions. Socialism has something to offer in terms of mutually profitable application and scientific and production cooperation. However, in its policy of social revenge, which includes methods of economic and technological warfare, imperialism is violating these elementary principles of intergovernmental relations.

That is why our party proceeds from the fact that the development of socialist integration should strengthen the technical and economic invulnerability of the community to hostile imperialist actions and the influence of economic crises and other negative processes inherent in capitalism. This can be achieved by improving collective foreign economic strategy, making fuller use of the possibilities provided by the international socialist division of labor in strategically important areas, intensifying foreign economic relations and making progressive structural changes in exports and imports.

The collective comprehensive program adopted by the fraternal countries is entirely consistent with these requirements. It combines their efforts in the efficient utilization of the possibilities of the new stage of the scientific and technical revolution on the basis of the advantages enjoyed by socialism and enables the CEMA members to engage in international economic cooperation on an organized and united basis.

The urgent and soonest possible shifting of the center of gravity of the work to organizing its practical implementation is a major aspect in the implementation of the comprehensive program. In calling for accelerating the drafting and adoption of this program, the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet

government took into consideration the approaching new 5-year period and the need to include coordinated steps in the plans to be adopted by our countries for the 1986-1990 period and in the program for the long-range socioeconomic development. The priority topics of scientific and technical cooperation have already been reflected in the draft Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR and in the draft of the forthcoming 5-year plan period. It is important to ensure from the very beginning the full use of cooperation in the creation and dissemination of essentially new types of equipment and technology. This requires, wasting no time, to translate the priority areas of the program into the language of specific accords and treaties covering the entire science-technology-production-marketing cycle.

Including the assignments contained in the comprehensive program in the national 5-year and annual plans will be a prerequisite for their successful implementation. This project will involve the work of some 700 scientific and production organizations. As was pointed out at the session, it is necessary to concentrate from the very beginning this powerful intellectual potential, prevent the dispersal of forces and direct them toward end production results.

The practice of economic integration at its new stage is enriched by the jointly developed concept of head organizations. It is precisely they, the most powerful and prestigious research, design and scientific and production collectives, which will assume the organizing role in the development of priority problems. It is they which will help to resolve the main problem, that of organizing direct relations among practical performers in the individual countries. Thus, virtually all organizations of an essentially new type currently created in the Soviet Union--intersectorial scientific and technical complexes--are becoming head organizations in charge of problems included in the comprehensive CEMA program. They include organizations such as Svetovod, charged with ensuring the rapid development of fiber optics, Biogen, which concentrates on biotechnological problems, and others.

Other promising forms of cooperation will be developed as well, including joint scientific and production associations working on the basis of unified plans. As we know, two such Soviet-Bulgarian associations are already operational in the area of machine tool building. The next step in that direction--the creation of multilateral organizations of this type--was taken at the session: an agreement was concluded on establishing the Interrobot Association, which will develop robot technology.

The implementation of the comprehensive program will be a severe test of the collective management cooperation system within CEMA. As was pointed out at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact members in Sofia, the work of CEMA should be aimed at accelerating scientific and technical progress on the basis of international production specialization and cooperation and, with this in mind, making major changes in its structure, style and methods of work.

The CPSU considers the implementation of the comprehensive program a political--national and party--task. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo directs party, soviet and economic bodies and labor collectives to the strict implementation of all obligations based on this program assumed by the Soviet

Union. The party members and the economic aktiv must participate most energetically in the joint activities of scientific institutions and enterprises in the countries of the community in the development and utilization of modern technology. The creation of the technology of the 21st Century will require purposefulness and scope for creativity and initiative. This opens broad opportunities for the manifestation of the initiative and talent of all working people, the young in particular.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers passed a decree on the steps for the implementation of the comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress by CEMA members. It stipulates the creation of all necessary conditions for Soviet organizations to become actively involved in its implementation and ensure the extensive practical application of work results on the basis of specialization and cooperation which will take place in the course of the joint implementation of the program with the other countries.

Cooperation in leading areas of scientific and technical progress is successfully developing not exclusively on a multilateral basis. In recent years our country has initialed a number of long-term bilateral programs for economic and scientific and technical cooperation with the fraternal countries. All of these measures lead to the systematic implementation of an important law governing the development of production forces, such as a conversion to increasingly deeper and stabler forms of division of labor. Life persistently reminds us of the need to shift the center of its gravity from the habitual intersectorial method, no longer entirely consistent with contemporary requirements, to the track of primarily intrasectorial specialization and cooperation, which opens truly boundless opportunities for a greater division of labor. This is an objective requirement of the process of production intensification and, consequently, of intensification of the integration process itself.

However, this is not the only area in which more efficient, daring and flexible cooperation methods are necessary. The CPSU indicates as a programmatic imperative its active participation in the joint work done by the fraternal parties in coordinating economic policy, perfecting the mechanism of economic interaction, seeking new forms of such interaction and exchange of progressive experience and organizing direct relations among associations and enterprises.

Loyal to the principles of socialist internationalism, our party reasserts in its pregress documents its interest and readiness to cooperate in the further progress of public production and the socialist way of life in the the community and in accelerating the process of equalizing the levels of their economic development. Together with the other members of CEMA, the Soviet Union will continue to give aid to Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia.

The CPSU considers the need to improve exchanging progressive experience in planning and economic management as a major aspect of advancing the interaction among fraternal countries. The concept of the need to accelerate the development and achieve a qualitatively new status in our society and, above all, quality changes in the economy and its conversion to the track of

intensive growth, which imbues the CPSU pregress documents, requires an even more attentive and profound study of the valuable features found in the experience of the fraternal countries. Whatever problem we may address ourselves--the energizing of the human factor, forms of combining science with production, upgrading production quality, perfecting price setting, etc.--something instructive related to many of them could be borrowed from our friends.

We must resolve the various constructive problems and build the new world not under the sterile conditions of a scientific laboratory but by resolving the real contradictions of life, under the circumstances of a complex and at times explosive international situation. Imperialism is using an entire system of subversive measures--political, economic and ideological--and is speculating on difficulties and fanning nationalistic moods in order to weaken the positions of socialism and to destroy relations among socialist countries and, above all, relations with the USSR.

Under the conditions of the sharp confrontation between the two world systems, the draft new edition of the CPSU program points out, strong unity and class solidarity among socialist countries are of particular importance.

In this connection, unifying the efforts of the fraternal parties in the ideological sphere is of exceptional importance. The CPSU intends to continue to encourage the energizing of collective thinking aimed at the development of Marxist-Leninist theory, the defense of its revolutionary nature and the intensification of the creative type of social science studies. It is only by acting within a single front that the communists in the fraternal countries will be able successfully to rebuff anticommunism and anti-Sovietism and struggle against dogmatic and revisionist views.

At the regular conference of secretaries of central committees of communist and workers parties of socialist countries, which dealt with international and ideological problems, held in Bucharest in December 1985, it was deemed important to promote the aggressive dissemination of revolutionary gains and the outstanding successes of our peoples in all areas, including the securing of a material base and broad democratic framework for the true exercise of basic human rights and freedoms.

The enriched characterization of the historical accomplishments and advantages of the socialist system, found in the draft new edition of the CPSU program, is based on the experience of the development of world socialism as a whole. This means loyalty to Marxism-Leninism by the ruling parties, its creative application, their firm ties with the toiling masses, strengthening their prestige and leading role in society and strict observance of the Leninist norms of party and state life and the development of socialist democracy; sober consideration of the real situation and the timely and scientifically substantiated solution of arising problems; and building relations with other fraternal countries on the basis of the principles of socialist internationalism.

Our common historical experience proves that the socialist system offers all opportunities both for confident social progress and blossoming of national

forms of life as well as harmonious relations among countries, excluding any inequality and based on fraternal cooperation and mutual aid. However, neither of those, the draft indicates, will come unassisted.

Numerous and frequently quite difficult obstacles and problems develop on the way to building socialism and establishing a new type of intergovernmental relations. Each major stage in the social development of the socialist countries raises new and difficult problems, the solution of which requires struggle, searching and surmounting difficulties. It would be erroneous to shut our eyes to this and ignore the real fact that the national and state interests of the individual countries do not fully coincide in all matters; nor do national and international common interests. Such differences are natural. They are based on objective and subjective reasons caused by natural-geographic, historical and national features of the individual countries, differences in their development levels, features of economic structure and place in the system of the international division of labor. Our countries also differ in terms of some forms and means of resolving problems of socialist construction. This is equally natural although it may have seemed earlier that a greater homogeneity would exist here. The practice of recent decades has generally enriched the range of manifestation of the general laws of development of the new society under the specific conditions of the individual countries.

Whatever the characteristics of the individual socialist countries may be, they all share the same class interests and objective in social development. In terms of the most basic and essential features, the national and state interests of the individual socialist countries do not differ from their common international interests. That which unites and bring together the socialist countries, the draft new edition of the CPSU program emphasizes, is essential and immeasurably greater than that which could divide them. There are no grounds to dramatize such differences and to pit the experience of some countries against that of others. Nevertheless, our party believes that they should not be neglected. Neglect of really existing differences in interests and contradictions could lead to major difficulties. That is why the greatest possible attention must be paid and comprehensive cooperation ensured in order to prevent the creation of grounds for differences which could harm common interests.

The jointly formulated accurate political line of interaction among the ruling parties and the coordination of actions on essential problems, based on a profound consideration of national and common, international interests in their organic interconnection, are particularly important. A new vivid confirmation of this approach and of democratic integration methods inherent in socialism is the drafting of the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress of CEMA Members. This was a complex project involving the making of responsible and difficult decisions. As a result, our community has acquired a program consistent with both common and national interests. Relying on the common potential and taking into consideration the possibilities and objectives of the entire community, national problems will be resolved more quickly and efficiently.

Socialist internationalism is an efficient principle in drafting such decisions. It is precisely socialist internationalism that enables us to identify and implement the profound and objective link between properly understood real national and international interests. It is also a type of tuning fork for determining the consistency of historical needs with the development of socialism. The CPSU is convinced that, with the full observance of equality and reciprocal respect for national interests, the socialist countries will follow the path of ever greater reciprocal understanding and rapprochement. Our party, the draft new edition of its main document emphasizes, will contribute to this historically progressive process.

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NEW YEAR'S ADDRESS TO THE SOVIET PEOPLE. SPEECH BY GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE  
CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE M. S. GORBACHEV ON SOVIET TELEVISION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 86 (signed to press 2 Jan 86) pp 13-15

[Speech by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, on Soviet television]

[Text] Dear Comrades:

A few minutes from now, the bells of the Kremlin will announce the beginning of the New Year. These minutes are always especially exciting. It is an old custom for the people to link new hopes to each New Year and mentally to sum up the results of the last one. On New Year's Day we present New Year's greetings to family, relatives, friends and comrades, wishing them the best in life.

It is accepted that labor is the beginning of everything. This is, indeed, the case. I think that you will agree that 1985 will be remembered by us as a year of intensive toil, hopes and daring plans for the future.

All of us will remember the difficulties we encountered in the national economy at the beginning of the year. The tremendous efforts of the entire party and people were needed to correct things and to end the year with overall satisfactory economic results. The past year represents everything that we accomplished jointly, for the sake of a better and more just spiritually saturated life and the further strengthening of its socialist foundations and principles.

The past year was very instructive to us. It was crowded with events which seemed to have made time run faster. We undertook major projects, energetically, with enthusiasm. Today we see our possibilities more clearly and can assess more realistically our accomplishments and our plans for the future. We want to make full use of the tremendous potential of the socialist system. This is a question of qualitative social changes and a dynamic and confident progress toward improving all aspects of life--economic, cultural and social.

However, dear comrades, we are merely at the beginning of the path defined at the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum. I would say that we are at the very

start of a difficult project and of major changes which will demand of us even greater persistence, dedication, fearless rejection of anything obsolete, mental inertia and customary yet now useless plans and approaches. Today we particularly need high social activeness, creative toil, intolerance of shortcomings and decisive support of anything new and progressive born of the times.

The essence of socialism is that it is created by the people and for the people. Its source of strength is the live creativity of the masses. Those are the precise positions from which the Communist Party approaches all of our projects and initiatives. The party's Central Committee and Soviet government sense the active nationwide support of recently taken economic measures and political steps. We highly rate this support, realizing that it obligates us greatly and inspires us to pursue our further confident progress toward perfecting the society in which we live.

The new year 1986 will mark the start of the new, the 12th Five-Year Plan, to which we link the solution of many vitally important problems in the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development.

The main political event of the year is the forthcoming 27th Leninist Party Congress. A nationwide discussion of pregress documents is currently underway. In their meetings and letters to the Central Committee, the Soviet people discuss the affairs of the country, directly, openly and concernedly, mentioning what is hindering us and what should be done. They call for the firm and energetic pursuit of the charted course. We now call things by their names: successes are successes, shortcomings are shortcomings and errors are errors. This is a reliable medicine against both boastfulness and complacency and a true key to reaching new successes and accomplishments and a new quality of life and new heights of socioeconomic and spiritual development in a united and creative atmosphere.

This past year we celebrated the 40th anniversary of the great victory over fascism. The memory of the exploit of our people during this sacred war lives not only in our consciousness but also in our hearts. The pain of the losses suffered during that difficult time obligates us to do everything possible to prevent a new tragedy from ever occurring in the world. The Communist Party Central Committee and Soviet government, expressing the will of the Soviet people, will do everything possible to safeguard peace, block the threat of nuclear war and prevent the irreparable from taking place.

Today's world is complex and varied. The Soviet Union proceeds in its policy from the fact that in the nuclear age the people on earth are all in the same boat. Rocking it through military adventurism is extremely irresponsible. Life itself today rejects political light-handedness. That is why the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are persistently working for peace and for improving international relations and giving them a civilized nature, suitable for the enlightened people of the 20th Century. We must rise above quarrels and subordinate all efforts to the search of ways of achieving reciprocal understanding, confidence and disarmament.



The UN has proclaimed 1986 the Year of Peace. We in the Soviet Union would like for this year of peace to become a decade of peace so that mankind could enter the 21st Century in a state of peace, confidence and cooperation.

Dear comrades! At the dawn of socialism, Vladimir Ilich Lenin described as happiness "Undertaking the building of the Soviet state and thus inaugurating the new era in universal history." This was and remains a difficult type of happiness. We are proud of the fact that our history and our life and struggle have been an inseparable part of the history, life and struggle waged by all mankind for peace and social progress. We are proud of blazing a new path to a new society, following it worthily and confidently!

In welcoming the New Year, we address warm greetings to our friends and allies, to the people of the socialist countries! We wish them further successes in building the new life.

We greet the peoples of friendly states, and our class comrades throughout the world.

We wish peace, happiness and prosperity to all nations on earth!

On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers, I greet all Soviet people, the united family of peoples of our great homeland on the occasion of the New Year, warmly and sincerely!

New Year greetings to the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, people's intelligentsia and war and labor veterans!

New Year greetings to the Soviet armed forces, reliably protecting the peaceful toil of our people and the gains of the Great October!

New Year greetings to all those who, at this hour are standing labor and combat guard, who are at work away from the native land!

Let us wish one another for our dreams to come true in the New Year, and for the New Year to become one of new successes, creative toil, durable peace and a change for the better. May it be rich in joy and happiness in each home and family!

Happy New Year, dear comrades!

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M.S. GORBACHEV'S ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 86 (signed to press 2 Jan 86) pp 15-16

[Text] Honored Citizens of the United States:

I consider it a good omen that this New Year has been declared a year of peace. We are starting it with the exchange of direct addresses by President Reagan to the Soviet people and by me to you.

This, in my view, is a hopeful sign of change, albeit small but nevertheless a change for the better in our relations. The few minutes during which I will be talking with you are, in my view, a meaningful symbol of our common desire to continue to advance toward each other, which your President and I started in Geneva. We were empowered by our nations to have a discussion in that area. They would like for a constructive Soviet-American dialogue to continue and to bring tangible results.

Today, face to face with you, I would like to say that the Soviet people are attached to peace as to the highest value equal to that of life. We have suffered through the idea of peace, it has become part of our flesh and blood, along with the pain of unhealing wounds and the sadness of irreplaceable losses. There is no single family or home in our country in which the memory of relatives and friends who died in the flames of war is not alive, that same war in which the Soviet and American peoples were allies and fought in the same ranks.

I am saying this because our common aspiration to peace has a past and, therefore, a historical experience in cooperation, which can inspire today our joint work for the sake of the future.

The numerous letters I have received from you, and talks with representatives of your country--senators, members of congress, scientists, business people and government personalities--have led me to believe that the United States as well is aware of the fact that our two countries cannot fight and that a clash between them would be the greatest possible tragedy.

One of the realities of the contemporary world is that it is senseless to try to strengthen one's own security through new types of weapons. Today each new

step in the arms race increases the danger and risk to both sides and to all mankind.

Loudly and persistently life indicates that we must follow the path of reduction of nuclear arsenals and keep outer space peaceful. We are discussing this in Geneva and we would very much like for such talks to be successful in the New Year.

In our efforts for peace we must be guided by the awareness that today, by the will of history, our two countries have been entrusted with tremendous responsibility to the peoples of their own countries and of all states for the preservation of life itself on earth. Our duty to all mankind is to give it a reliable prospect for peace and for entering the third millennium without fear. Let us assume the task of ending the threat hanging over mankind. Let us not shift this problem to the shoulders of our children.

We would hardly be able to achieve this objective unless we begin to gather bit by bit the most valuable capital--confidence among states and nations. It is mandatory to begin to eliminate the existing lack of confidence in Soviet-American relations.

I believe that one of the main results of my meeting with President Reagan is that we succeeded, both as leaders and on a purely human level, to take the first steps to surmount lack of confidence and bring the confidence factor into action. The distance which separates us is still wide and difficult. We saw in Geneva, however, that it is not insurmountable. To surmount it would be a feat. Our people are ready to undertake it for the sake of universal peace.

I recall the title of an outstanding work in American literature: the book "The Winter of our Discontent." Let me rephrase this title and substitute the word "hope" for "discontent." May not only this winter but all the seasons of this year and of subsequent years be brimming with hope for a better future, a hope which we can jointly turn into reality. I can assure you that we shall work for the sake of this without laying our hands down.

To the Soviet people 1986 marks the beginning of a new stage in the implementation of our constructive plans. These are peaceful plans and we announced them in the face of the entire world.

I greet you on the occasion of the New Year and wish good health, peace and happiness to every American family.

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M.S. GORBACHEV'S SPEECH TO THE CHIEFS OF DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS 27 DECEMBER 1985

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 86 (signed to press 2 Jan 86) pp 17-20

[Text] On the eve of the New Year, allow me to greet the chiefs of the diplomatic missions of foreign countries accredited to the Soviet Union warmly, here in the Kremlin.

I greet the representatives of the socialist states with which we are bound by the ties of fraternal friendship and close cooperation in the implementation of the programs for socialist and communist construction, the acceleration of the socioeconomic development of our societies and the joint struggle for a lasting peace on earth.

I greet the representatives of countries liberated from colonial oppression and which have taken the path of independent development, and the countries affiliated with the nonaligned movement. We have established with these states relations of sincere friendship, mutual respect and comprehensive cooperation. We consider a good historical omen the fact that the role of the nonaligned states is steadily increasing in the world arena.

I greet the representatives of the other, the capitalist social system, present in this hall--of the countries of North America, Western Europe, the Far East and other areas, countries belonging to this category which, in contemporary political language are usually described as the West. The Soviet Union is consistently striving to build its relations with such countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence and equal and mutually profitable cooperation. We well realize that the future of universal peace largely depends on the state of our relations with this group of countries and approach this matter with a feeling of great responsibility.

Honored comrades and gentlemen!

You and I have reached a line which marks not simply the calendar change of years but which also has a different, a much deeper meaning.

The year 1985 was saturated with events of great historical significance. Some of them brought mankind new terrible dangers while others instilled hope. The trend which will predominate in the next year, in 1986, making it a year of real efforts to strengthen the peace and security of the peoples, the

development of their peaceful intercourse and cooperation, or else making even more threatening the danger of nuclear catastrophe hanging over the planet, depends on the activities of the people--governments, state and political personalities and the world public at large.

The dangers are obvious. They include the continuing unrestrained arms race and the persistent efforts of militaristic circles to extend it to outer space. They include gross violations of the independence and sovereignty of a number of countries and foreign interference in the internal affairs of nations. Also obvious, however, is the fact that such processes are triggering growing opposition throughout the world and, let me add, enhance the responsibility of all countries and peoples for the fate of universal peace.

Any nation and any country--large, medium-sized or small--can contribute a bit of its national experience to the cause of peace and international cooperations. This was reasserted at the recent UN General Assembly session, which passed virtually unanimously a number of very important resolutions, including preventing the arms race in space and ending nuclear weapon tests.

As to the Soviet leadership, we are by conviction optimists. We have faith in the better future of mankind and will continue our active efforts in that direction.

Of late signals have been exchanged between East and West offering a certain hope, I would say even more cautiously, a glimmer of hope of progress toward mutually acceptable solutions.

As is widely acknowledged now, a certain general warming of the international climate has taken place as a result of the Soviet-American meeting in Geneva. Points of contact (more in terms of their potential) have also appeared on the problems involved in the talks on nuclear and space armaments. Further developments will depend, above all, on the materialization of the agreements reached at the Geneva summit. Whether or not 1986 will justify the hopes of the peoples of preventing an arms race in space and its termination on earth will depend precisely on the course of these talks.

Thanks to the constructive efforts of a number of countries, the outlines of possible agreements at the Stockholm conference on measures to strengthen confidence and security and disarmament in Europe are taking shape. In our view, all participants in the meeting would have roll up their sleeves so that positive results may be achieved in Stockholm before the next European meeting, scheduled for next autumn, starts.

The aspiration of the parties to consider reciprocal interests and concerns has become more noticeable at the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. We are currently making a close study of the latest proposals submitted by our Western partners.

It looks as though the participants in the Geneva disarmament conference have begun better to understand the urgent need to ban chemical weapons, terminate all nuclear tests and exclude the use of force in outer space. However,

further serious efforts will be required. The USSR is ready to walk its part of the way to balanced agreements.

Today the question of nuclear explosions is in the center of attention of governmental leaders and the broad public. They have been shaking up our earth for several decades. The time has come to put an end to this. We are convinced that this is within the range of the possible.

We have called and are calling upon the United States to follow the good example set by the Soviet Union and terminate all nuclear explosions. Were the two largest powers to act jointly in a matter of such importance to all mankind, this would be a step of truly utmost significance.

Through you, honored diplomatic representatives, I turn to all states and peoples: let us act in such a way that 1986 enters history as the year of decline of nuclear explosions, a year in which the people found in themselves sufficient common sense to rise above narrow and egotistical reasons and stop mutilating their own planet.

Since the so-called problem of verification is frequently cited as a pretext for avoiding the solution of this problem, let me reemphasize most definitely that as far as the Soviet Union is concerned, this problem will not be the stumbling stone. In the matter of verification of a halt of nuclear tests the USSR is prepared to take the most decisive steps, including on-site verification.

Our country, which has had bitter experience in the matter of treacherous attack, is interested in reliable and strict verification no less than any other. Under current international conditions, considering the scarcity of mutual confidence, verification measures are simply necessary, be they through national technical means or international verification, as long as it is verification aimed at observing specific agreements.

The Soviet leadership is prepared to reach an agreement on a sensible and honest basis and would like to hope that its partners as well will adopt a realistic and firm approach. As of today good quality seeds must be planted on the soil of renewable talks, for they alone can provide good shoots in the spring and a good crop in the autumn.

Another major and grave problem exists. The Soviet Union is firmly in the mood for 1986 to mark substantial progress in the matter of a political settlement in the Middle East, Central America, Afghanistan, southern Africa and the area of the Persian Gulf. Together with the other countries we are prepared to seek equitable solutions and to participate--wherever necessary--in issuing corresponding guarantees.

The desire to eliminate hotbeds of tension and, in any case, to prevent their spreading, is hindered by the custom of considering conflict situations through the lens of the political or ideological confrontation between East and West. Basing a policy on erroneous concepts is both nearsighted and dangerous. Conflicts originate on local social, economic and political grounds. Therefore, they must be resolved in a way such as not to harm the

legitimate interests of the peoples and their right to choose the type of life they desire, as well as the right to protect their choice without outside interference.

Honored guests! In conclusion, I wish to emphasize the great role which diplomatic representatives play in our crucial times. The decisions made by the leaderships of the respective countries largely depend on the fullness and reliability of their assessments and information. In general, it would be no exaggeration to say that trust among countries begins with the envoys. Let me add that we demand of our envoys total objectivity and absence of prejudice.

In turn, we would like you to be well informed of what is happening in the Soviet Union and, naturally, not only in its capital. The Soviet authorities will continue to offer the foreign envoys hospitality and cooperation in this matter. We have nothing to hide: the plans and intentions of the Soviet people and Soviet leadership are peaceful and only peaceful.

Naturally, you know how important the forthcoming 27th CPSU Congress is in the life of our party and entire country. I hope that many of you have become familiar with the theoretical and political documents to be submitted to the congress: the new edition of the CPSU Program, amendments in the party statutes and the Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period Until the Year 2000. In terms of many parameters we are looking even beyond that, to the third millennium.

What this millenium will be greatly depends on the present generations.

Today the responsibility of everyone is tremendous. It is a question of profiting from the opportunity which has appeared for reducing the volume of armaments, preventing the monstrous danger which is threatening us from outer space and, as a whole, making our beautiful world worthy of man.

On behalf of all my compatriots, who are welcoming the new year with a good, happy and creative mood, I wish peace and prosperity to the peoples of all countries which you represent, to the peoples throughout the earth. I wish success and personal happiness to you and your families, honored guests, to the personnel of the embassies you head, to the representatives of foreign trade establishments, banks and companies, to journalists and technical specialists and to teachers and students and, in a word, to all the citizens of your countries who live and work in the Soviet Union.

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## TOWARDS THE 27TH PARTY CONGRESS -- DISCUSSION OF CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE DRAFTS

### GROWING IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 86 (signed to press 2 Jan 86) pp 21-30

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor R. Yanovski, rector of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences]

[Text] This is a crucial period for the country. The thorough study of the existing situation enabled our party to substantiate an expanded concept of accelerated socioeconomic development and, on its basis, the reaching of a new qualitative condition for Soviet society. It is with the acceleration concept that the CPSU presented itself to the people and is advancing towards its 27th Congress.

This concept is the pivot of the three basic pregress documents, which were submitted for open and universal discussion. It is based on the fullest possible realization of the tremendous constructive possibilities of developed socialism and on bringing to light the great humanistic nature of socialist social relations.

Our time has raised new demands concerning economics and culture and is subjecting the socialist system--its ability to ensure steady growth in all areas and further improvements in all aspects of life--to an exigent test.

Based on Marxist-Leninist theory and the summation of acquired historical experience, our party has submitted a substantiated and efficient formulation of the strategic directions followed in the work of its organizations, the Soviet state and the entire people, based on the communist future of the country's development. Today primacy is being given to the need for the scientific and technical updating of the production process and, within a historically short time, reaching the highest world standards of labor productivity, production quality and efficiency. It is only on this basis that the set objectives can be reached, the economic and defense power of the country strengthened and socialism comprehensively perfected.

In these circumstances, the role of man as the conscious maker of history assumes particular significance.

The Soviet people have always been responsive to the party's voice. The universal upsurge and enthusiasm related to the energetic actions of its



Central Committee are proof of the inseparable ties linking the CPSU with the masses and the nationwide support of the party's course.

The mobilization of the toiling masses for building a new life and encouraging their creative initiative and aspirations toward a single objective is the main, the determining feature in building communism. "The greater the scope and width of historical action," V. I. Lenin taught, "the greater the number of people who participate in such activities; conversely, the deeper the changes we wish to make the more we should enhance the interest in and conscientious attitude toward it and convince ever new millions and tens of millions of people of the need for it" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 42, p 140). Since the party has no political interest other than that of these same millions of people and the broad toiling masses, awareness of the basic tasks of historical development is comprehensive: on the one hand, it is a scientific interpretation of the vital problems and the formulation of corresponding strategy and tactics by the party; on the other, it is the profound understanding displayed by the entire toiling people of the programmatic stipulations of the party and its practical actions. This is the most important prerequisite for the acceleration of social progress.

The Stakhanov movement, which wrote glorious pages in the chronicle of the Soviet era is a typical illustration of this fact. Its 50th anniversary was recently noted by the entire country. It was a convincing and vivid manifestation of the most important constructive features of socialism, the revolutionary innovative spirit of the working class and the high standard of political consciousness of Soviet people.

The tradition of the heroes of the first 5-year plans have been adequately developed by their heirs--production frontrankers and innovators in all socialist economic sectors, who are answering the party's call with the same type of mass yet much more extensive labor thrust in the realm of national economic intensification and acceleration of scientific and technical progress. This is a continuation of the conscious and voluntary great initiative of workers in the development of labor productivity, the conversion to a new labor discipline and creativity of socialist production relations, manifested in the experience of the very first communist subbotniks, described by Lenin as the "shoots of communism." "Our time," Comrade M.S. Gorbachev said, "particularly resembles the period of the indomitable spirit of innovation of the pioneer Stakhanovites and their aspiration to use equipment to the utmost, daringly rejecting obsolete norms and mentality."

The main successes achieved by our people through their stubborn toil in economic, social and political areas and in science and culture enabled the country to reach new heights. At the turn of the 1980s, however, our national economy encountered major difficulties. Extensive factors proved to be essentially exhausted and adverse trends began to appear in the economy: socialist discipline began to slacken and responsibility for assignment declined. In frequent cases, trust in cadres was no longer related to high exigency. All of this led to a slow down in the growth rates of output and in the conversion of the economy to the track of intensification and to lowered efficiency.

These problems are grave enough to demand urgent action. They cover a broad range of current and long-term tasks--economic, social, political, spiritual and organizational--affecting all levels and units within the socialist social system. They apply to every labor collective and individual working person, member of the party or not.

Resolving developed contradictions, surmounting difficulties, eliminating accumulated shortcomings and implementating decisive measures for the substantial acceleration of the country's scientific and technical development and for making material production more dynamic and intensive can be accomplished within a relatively short time, the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum emphasized, by using organizational-economic and social reserves and energizing the human factor. Once again the October 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum drew attention to the fact that the most important sources of strength of our society are the live creativity of the masses, their consciousness and their interest in building communism.

In charting a course to a more dynamic socialist economy, converting it to intensification and ensuring the comprehensive growth of production efficiency, the party takes fully into consideration not only the objective need but also the expectations and feelings of the working people. The Soviet workers, peasants, engineers, scientists, whether communists or nonparty members, answer this by comprehensively strengthening socialist labor discipline, seeking and applying innovative means in resolving problems of scientific and technical progress, perfecting one link in social management or another and developing more efficient forms of organization of socialist competition. All of this is a manifestation of the socialist civic-mindedness of Soviet people and the commonality of their social needs and interests which coincide with the interests and practical aspirations of society as a whole and its political vanguard. The main feature here is the clear understanding of the fact that concern for the good of the working person and his comprehensive development have always been and remain the supreme objective and principal meaning of all Communist Party and Soviet state activities. This is the most important feature of the political consciousness of the Soviet person--of the historically new type of individual, shaped under the conditions of the new socioeconomic system.

As we know, political consciousness is a combination of views and concepts expressing the attitude of a social group or individual toward other social groups, classes, nations, social systems and processes within them, and a historically developed type and way of life, political parties, social values, traditions and standards. Proletarian ideology and a communist outlook, which express the basic interests of the working class and working people of all countries, are the foundations of Soviet political consciousness.

Ever since classes made their appearance, society has led a political life and there can be no person or collective whose consciousness has not been political to one extent or another. Should anyone deliberately manifest his "independence" from political influences or the clear requirements of a civic society, this too is a kind of "civic" stance and a politically entirely clear attitude of this individual toward his social environment and existing social forms or, so to say, a political consciousness with a "minus" sign which

usually indicates unwillingness or unreadiness actively to work on the side of progresssive forces. For it is an old truth that "one cannot live in society and be free from society" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 12, p 104).

Political consciousness reflects the most important realitites of the age, level of social development, characteristics of the societal class structure and system of social relations. The steady progress of the socialist system toward classlessness and social homogeneity does not mean in the least political amorphousness or slackness. To the contrary, the sociopolitical and ideological positions of all classes and social groups are drawing closer to each other in our country on the basis of the end objectives of the working class and its scientific ideology. The CPSU considers that the most important task in its ideological and educational work is for the revolutionary ideology and morality of the working class and its collectivistic mentality to determine the spiritual features of the Soviet people and the political maturity of the people's masses.

The concepts characteristic of a given society and its spiritual values, feelings and moods, the people's theoretical baggage and practical experience and, above all, the specific nature of socially useful activities and the social relations system actively influence the shaping and development of the political consciousness of individuals. In other words, political consciousness is influenced by the totality of socioeconomic and ideological factors.

The Marxist-Leninist classics linked the development of the political consciousness of the working people with their participation in the revolutionary movement, the practice of the class struggle and the building of socialism and communism, based not on "consciousness in general" but on the actual social processes and experience in political work, the study of which makes its specific features and forms apparent.

Shaping the political consciousness is a determining aspect in the entire communist education system. It is precisely political consciousness that is responsible for the integral development of the new type of individual. This begins with patriotic and internationalist upbringing.

It is entirely understandable that in the books of V. A. Sukhomlinskiy, the outstanding Soviet educator, the category "socialist motherland" is the central point of pedagogical theory and practice. "See to it," he wrote, "that a thousand of the finest threads link the individual with the fatherland. This is the first advice to the father, mother and educator;" "Duty to the fatherland is the meaning and essence of human life..." ("Rodina v Serdtse" [Homeland in the Heart]. Molodaya Gvardiya, Moscow, 1978, pp 6, 8). Civic upbringing and the development of political consciousness are pivotal in the moral formation of boys and girls. It is the axis around which all other aspects of the personality entering independent life revolve.

Attitude toward communist ideals and the domestic and foreign policies of the CPSU and the Soviet state, their acknowledgement and support and conscious participation in the struggle for their programmatic tasks are a major

inseparable aspect of political consciousness. It is precisely on the basis of this attitude that one can impeccably judge the extent of the true development of modern man and his life stance.

Recalling Lenin and his attitude toward those around him, his sensitive attention to manifestations of talent and willful energy and the ability to forgive isolated "weaknesses," G. M. Krzhizhanovskiy noted: "Whenever anyone in his presence expatiated on the 'negative qualities' of a comrade, he drastically cut such philistinism short by saying:

"'You better tell me about the nature of his political behavior'." ("Vospominaniya o Vladimire Iliche Lenine" [Recollections on Vladimir Ilich Lenin]. In 5 volumes, vol 4, Politizdat, Moscow, 1979, p 45).

Circumstances make the man, but as subject of conscious activities, it is man who makes the circumstances and, consequently, himself. The shaping of a new type of individual is an organic part of the overall building of communism, in which man is both consequence and premise. It would be erroneous in this case to rely on the automatic renovation of consciousness, on its uncontrolled and arbitrary development toward the communist ideal. Such an approach would mean sliding to the positions of vulgar materialism, which has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism. Unquestionably, the solution of economic, social and political problems, as it shapes new social relations, new living conditions and a new way of life, leaves its mark on the ordinary consciousness of the people and the entire system of their conceptual ideas and moral views. However, we should not forget Lenin's instruction, formulated at the time our party was being founded: "...any veneration of a spontaneous workers movement, or any belittling of the role of the 'conscious element' and of the role of the social democratic movement means, by this token, entirely regardless of whether or not this is desired, the increased influence of bourgeois ideology on the workers" (op. cit., vol 6, p 38). This statement, which was made long before the revolution, retains its significance to this day and will retain it as long as the political system continues to play a role, as long as recurrences of a consumerist mentality and the trend of the penetration of an alien ideology into our spiritual life remains, until a capitalist social system remains outside socialism, and as long as there is a clash of ideas and trends in the humanities and the natural sciences on general theoretical problems and the danger remains of contaminating the consciousness of specialists with one type or another "infantile" or "senile" disease based on philosophical dystrophy.

That was precisely why the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum stipulated the need for conceptual clarity and methodological discipline of the mind and the inadmissibility of ignoring the fundamental principles of dialectical materialism. "The people must be educated in the ideas of Marxism-Leninism," Comrade M.S. Gorbachev said. "They must be educated with truthful words and real actions, combining political education and ideological influence with the ever broadening participation of the working people in the solution of economic and social problems and the administration of state, production and social affairs." A scientific economic strategy and a strong social policy, combined with purposeful ideological and educational work, taken in their

indivisible unity and decisively implemented in the interests of the people are the true prerequisites for the successful implementation of formulated tasks.

The live creativity of the people, bringing to light their intellectual and labor potential and developing their initiative and energy are directly related to the extent to which the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia are aware not only of current problems but of their historical responsibility, their efficiency and precision and the activeness displayed by every individual in his work place.

Whereas ideas which conquer the masses become a material force, political consciousness is an important motive force in the acceleration of the socioeconomic development of our society on the way to attaining its new qualitative status.

Let us note that under socialism communist ideas and the basic interests of the people coincide. Furthermore, the "interest" itself is enriched with a new content: in the consciousness of the Soviet person the individual and the social turn out, in the final account, to be identical and the higher motivations for expedient human activities coincide with the historical aspiration of socialism. It is precisely this which explains the mass nature of socially useful creativity, innovativeness and inventiveness, and the various forms of social activeness, which become particularly clearly manifested in times of decisive political actions mounted under the leadership of the Communist Party. These days as well, in discussing with tremendous interest the pregress documents and outlines of the plan for the next 5-year period and for the balance of the century, the Soviet people are formulating their suggestions and assuming new obligations. Thus, the Uralsmash working people decided to increase their volume of output by more than a third and to apply essentially new types of technology. Last year 185 brigades and thousands of workers were already working for 1986. Their consciousness is aimed at "truly daring," as A. M. Korolev, head of a turners brigade and Hero of Socialist Labor said, and is oriented toward higher indicators, not only quantitative but, above all, qualitative. This requires the profound rationalization efforts not of individual enthusiasts but of the entire collective of production workers, organically blending worker skill and initiative with progressive engineering thinking. The party considers the acceleration of scientific and technical progress a key economic as well as political task. The role of science and technology must be decisively enhanced in the qualitative reorganization of the country's productive forces, the conversion of the economy to the track of comprehensive intensification and the enhancement of public production efficiency. Achieving an upturn in this matter is the party's directive.

Scientific and technical development is becoming increasingly oriented toward the solution of social problems. Substantial changes will be made in the structure and organization of the production process. The CPSU demands a drastic enhancement of labor, technological and state discipline. An upsurge in labor productivity by 20-23 percent for the entire national economy, including 23-25 percent in industry, must be achieved during the 5-year period. No less than two-thirds of the growth of social labor productivity



must be the result of the utilization of the achievements of science and technology. Increased labor productivity will account for the entire growth in the volume of industrial and agricultural output, railroad transportation and construction. All of these and other figures stipulated for the forthcoming period represent specific actions by specific people and their skills, professional experience and political consciousness. The typical attitude toward the new tasks was expressed by V.S. Chicherov, twice Hero of Socialist Labor, head of a fitters-assembly workers brigade, at the October 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum: "The party's appeal for maximal utilization of the best acquired experience must be answered with action. It is important to understand that the success of the entire country depends on the way everyone of us will work. What is essentially needed is to be concerned with interests of the state. That is precisely the way we shall work!"

With the development of the socialist way of life and the growth of general standards, education and political information, the toiling masses are becoming increasingly receptive to the theoretical postulates and conclusions of the Communist Party, and scientific, ideological, ethical and aesthetic aspects of human spirituality become more closely interwoven. The study of the dialectics of interaction among these aspects in the interest of gaining a deeper understanding of means for the further advancement of the consciousness of the masses is of essential importance in practical political and educational activities.

It would be pertinent to recall Lenin's remark to the effect that in matters of education "We must consider as accomplished only that which has become part of culture, way of life and customs" (op. cit., vol 45, p 390). Reality indicates that ideological concepts which leave unaffected specific material and spiritual needs and interests and man's emotional-will area, influence his social behavior and plans for life to a limited extent only. In such cases the direct impact of daily occurrences plays a decisive role. That is why the party is paying greater attention to political-educational work among the masses. Lenin's words formulated even before the revolution retain their profound meaning to this day: "The task of developing the political consciousness of the masses assumes priority for those who wish to defend...the interests of the truly broad, the broadest population masses" (op. cit., vol 19, p 109).

A special section in the draft new edition of the CPSU program deals with ideological education work, upbringing, science and culture. Among others, it stipulates the following: "Unity of words and actions--the most important principle in all party and state activities--is a mandatory requirement in political education work as well. Active participation in such work is the duty of all leading cadres, the duty of every party member."

The party considers the struggle against manifestations of ideology and morality alien to us an important structural component of all of its activities. The CPSU is intolerant of any negative phenomena related to vestiges of the past in the human mind and behavior and practical shortcomings in various areas of social life, as well as delays in the solution of urgent problems. As was pointed out at the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the

question of strengthening order and discipline is particularly topical: "This is an urgent requirement of the day, which the Soviet people understand in broad terms, including order in production, services, social and daily life and within each labor cell, in each city and village." The party acts consistently and persistently in uprooting violations of the standards of the socialist way of life and manifestations of private ownership mentality and grubbiness, toadying and servility. It insists on the full use of the authority of public opinion and the force of the law to this effect. At the same time, the party systematically supports the tremendous educational impact of the positive example in social and personal life and in the implementation of party and civic duty.

The draft new edition of the CPSU program notes the relevance of upgrading the struggle against bourgeois ideology. The hostile activities of our class enemy have increased of late. Direct or indirectly he is systematically trying to exert a corrupting, destructive and destabilizing influence on the consciousness of the population in the socialist countries.

The sharpest possible confrontation between the two outlooks in the international arena reflects the opposite nature of the two global systems--socialism and capitalism. "The CPSU," the preconference document reads, "deems it its task to bring to the people the truth about real socialism and the domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet Union, actively to propagandize the Soviet way of life and aggressively and arguably to expose the antipeople's and inhuman character of imperialism and its exploiting nature. The party will raise the Soviet people in a spirit of high political consciousness and ability to assess social phenomena on the basis of clear class-oriented positions and to defend the ideals and spiritual values of socialist society."

The role of mass information and propaganda media is becoming enhanced in the political life of society. The CPSU demands of them profoundly to analyze domestic and international life and economic and social phenomena and actively to support everything that is new and progressive; to formulate sharp problems which affect the people and to suggest the means to resolve them. The press, television and radio must enrich the political consciousness of the people and convince them with the political clarity, purposefulness, depth of content, efficiency and information saturation and clarity and intelligibility of their actions. "Particular attention," the draft new edition of the CPSU program stipulates, "will be paid to the development of television, the comprehensive broadening of radio and television coverage of the population and the enhancement of the meaningfulness, ideological-artistic standards and attractiveness of broadcasts." At the accountability and election party conference of the USSR State Television and Radio, Comrade Ye. K. Ligachev called upon the workers in mass information media to work creatively and to surmount shortcomings. "The journalists, the press, television and radio," he said, "must help society to cleanse the moral atmosphere entirely, and to uproot careerism, individualism, flattery and subservience, and anything else which weakens the moral foundations of the Soviet people and pins down our advance."

The draft new edition of the program justifiably points out the need for radically uprooting manifestations of verbiage, formalism and primitivism in

mass political and propaganda work. All the means and methods used in such work should contribute to applying the creative energy of the masses to the solution of the problems currently facing the country, to ensuring the broad publicity of the activities of party and state bodies and public organizations and to the proper molding of public opinion and the growth of its influence on practical affairs. "The CPSU," the draft stipulated, "will be always concerned with strengthening the material foundations for ideological work."

The essential quality changes which have taken place in recent decades both in our country and in the rest of the world inevitably determined the features which must be taken into consideration in shaping a political consciousness.

First of all, there is an objective trend of raising the ordinary consciousness to the level of the theoretical interpretation of facts and phenomena in social life. Day-to-day activities are encouraging everyone with increasing frequency to steadily broaden his outlook, gain new knowledge and deal with questions and problems the solution of which demands a scientific approach, and hurls at the population increasing volumes of various types of information, frequently unusual and difficult to understand. Opinions and passions clash not only in conferences and seminars but also in ordinary relations which touch the emotional-psychological "strings" of the people. The latter, incidentally, is used by forces hostile to socialism, which are not reluctant to disseminate all kinds of rumors, intrigues, and open disinformation, to invent vulgar jokes and to spread inferior pseudoculture.

Secondly, the interdependence and interrelationship among all aspects of social life are increasing. We note a characteristic strengthening of relations in the production and nonproduction areas of human activities and in base and superstructural phenomena. The ideological significance of "recreational" aspects of social and personal life is common knowledge. These forms have a direct influence on the way of thinking, conceptual views and behavioral standards. The attention which the party pays to them is entirely understandable. Let us cite as an example the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Measures to Surmount Drunkenness and Alcoholism." By the will of the people its implementation has developed into an uncompromising struggle against this social evil. Let us also mention Central Committee decrees, such as "On Measures to Improve the Utilization of Club Institutions and Sports Facilities, the "Comprehensive Program for the Development of the Production of Consumer Goods and Services in 1986-2000" and other documents.

Third, the realm of action of moral control is increasing in the socialist society and its share in the overall volume of standards is raising. A number of facets of the socialist way of life, previously ignored in educational practices, are assuming increasing ideological and moral significance. Thus, we should consider the political aspect of the aesthetic-hygienic standards maintained in a worker cafeteria (which today, alas, frequently loses in comparison with a bar which, furthermore, is modeled according to Western standards), the nature of communal services, the whims of fashion, etc. The importance of this is confirmed by the experience of enterprises in Riga (the VEF in particular): maintaining high public catering standards has contributed not only to the growth of labor productivity but also to improving the entire atmosphere in labor collectives.



Let us point out that today there is no problem of daily life without educational and, in the final account, political significance, in the same way that there are no aspects of moral life in society bereft of ideological potential.

Fourth, today we are witnessing not only an increased reciprocal influence exerted by the various forms of social consciousness but also their steady politization, which requires specific sociological studies. Unfortunately, few such studies have been made so far. Let me cite as a positive example the book "Sotsialnaya Mikrosreda i Organizatsiya Ideologicheskoy Raboty" [Social Microenvironment and Organization of Ideological Work] (Mysl, Moscow, 1984) by A. S. Zakalin, CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences associate.

Fifth, the conditions governing the development of a moral consciousness in the young generation and the social demands put upon it have changed significantly. The mastery of the spiritual values of socialism and all cultural achievements of mankind, and involvement in communist party policy by the young people are based on the historical experience of the senior generations and, at the same time, on a now higher standard of development of production forces and social relations, the material well-being and educational standard of the people and the general absence of direct practice in the class struggle. As a rule, today's young people are unaware of the difficulties and privations experienced by their fathers and elder brothers. Young people begin to master political truths in secondary school, then in the university and at work. However, naturally, knowledge drawn from books alone is insufficient. Combining training with productive toil, as stipulated in the school reform, would contribute to the political maturing of young men and women. Sociologists are also studying the features governing the shaping of the political and moral consciousness of the young generation (see, for example, "Politicheskaya Kultura i Molodezh" [Political Standards and Youth] by N. M. Blinov, Yu. P. Ozhegov and F. E. Sheregi. Molodaya Gvardiya, Moscow, 1982; "Nravstvennyy Mir Sovetskogo Cheloveka" [The Moral World of the Soviet Person] by V. M. Sokolov. Moscow, 1981, and others).

New important and difficult tasks arise in the field of the social sciences (as well as in the ideological-political upbringing, education and training system) as socialist society advances, and as new factors which influence the consciousness of the contemporary individual appear. Their solution, based on the study of the new realities and summation of new experience, should contribute to perfecting party-political practical work and organizing all communist upbringing and education. In political education, for example, there is an obvious need for linking more closely political knowledge with problems of contemporary socioeconomic development, the tasks of specific labor collectives, regional features, etc.

Obviously, it would be useful to organize empirical studies of the features governing the development of political consciousness and civic behavior in specific population categories, with a view to refining the criteria used in assessing the various means and methods of ideological and educational influence on the various social strata and the effectiveness of mass

information media and cultural institutions operating under specific conditions.

Naturally, such studies should not rely exclusively on quantitative indicators of surveys. The main aspect here is the logical, the qualitative study of data, which would enable us to determine within specific phenomena the stable objective relations and, on this basis, to develop substantiated recommendations for upgrading the effectiveness of the political education of working people.

Presently pregress documents are being subjected to lively discussions on all communist party levels and in all labor collectives. The discussions cover not only production problems but also problems of political education and ideological work. The party insists on maximally combining ideological and political upbringing with the main task of the present: accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and safeguarding peace the world over. This, today, is the crux of CPSU policy.

The increased role of political consciousness is an objective socialist law related to the enhancement of the role of the human factor, which is a decisive factor of any change, in the overall process of building communism. As the draft new edition of the CPSU program stipulates, "The party will do everything necessary to make full use of the transforming power of Marxist-Leninist ideology in accelerating the socioeconomic development of the country, engaging in purposeful work to promote the ideological-political, labor and moral upbringing of the Soviet people, and shaping a harmoniously developed, socially active personality which would blend within itself spiritual wealth, moral purity and physical perfection." Success in all economic, social and political undertakings of our society and the preservation of its gains increasingly depend on cadres, on their skill and practical experience, the advancement of their intellect and their civic activeness and political vigilance. The situation calls for raising people of a special type, people who can firmly and successfully implement the party principles. They must be politically highly developed, with a strong revolutionary spirit and belief in the truth of Marxism-Leninism and the victory of the great communist cause. They must be ready selflessly to dedicate all their forces and knowledge to this cause and stop at no difficulties or obstacles.

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CONSUMER SERVICES FOR THE PUBLIC -- REQUIREMENTS, PLANNING, MANAGEMENT

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[Article by Doctors of Economic Sciences T. Koryagina and V. Rutgayzer]

[Text] The accelerated development of the service industry has been a feature of recent decades. As the most urgent material needs of the population are being satisfied, the demand of the people for services, above all for the type of services related to the rationalization of labor in the household, and the utilization of the leisure time, are increasing more and more. Suffice it to say that at the present time leisure time per working person averages about 30 hours per week. The population's literacy and general standards have increased immeasurably. This too is one of the decisive prerequisites for the shaping of new needs for a variety of services. Over the past 20 years real per capita income has approximately doubled. All of this has led to a drastic increase in the demands of the Soviet people for a meaningful utilization of their time away from public production.

The conditions which govern the development of the various service industry sectors are becoming the material prerequisites for reaching increasingly higher standards in the quality of life. It is precisely these sectors which must meet the population's needs for spiritual development, health preservation and maintenance, recreation, education of children, household chores and many other areas of human activities. Let us particularly note the fact that Soviet society has assumed the obligation of providing extensive range of population services paid out of social consumption funds, thus increasing the Soviet family budget by 10-15 percent. This is a tremendous social accomplishment of the Soviet system.

In recent decades, however, activities in the service industry, providing services to the population based on solvent demand, had been somewhat neglected. In addition to consumer goods sold through the trade system, paid services as well should contribute to balancing supply with demand. Yet for the past 10 to 15 years this area of paid services to the population developed at an insufficiently high rate and the quality of paid services has not been entirely satisfactory.

In September 1983 the CPSU Central Committee passed an important resolution on the need for a comprehensive program for developing the production of consumer goods and population services. This included accelerating the development of the service system with a view to the fuller satisfaction of the needs of Soviet people.

This was essentially the first time that the task of comprehensively balancing the development of all parts of the economy producing consumer goods and population services, filling the current gap for individual types of commodities and services and radically upgrading the quality of services, was formulated. Another task was the development of a system of steps to upgrade economic incentive and responsibility of ministries and departments for activities related to providing paid services. Particular attention had to be paid to expanding the variety of services and developing new types and forms of consumer services. Paid services were to be developed in such a way as to ensure the full satisfaction of solvent demand in this consumption area.

All of this meant that the program for commodities and services was to become a comprehensive assessment of long-term trends in the satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the Soviet people and the extent of participation in this effort of the individual service sectors and units and ensuring the proper correlation between paid and free means of offering a variety of services to the population.

The Comprehensive Program for the Development of the Production of Consumer Goods and Services for 1986-2000 was adopted 2 years later. The draft Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period Until the Year 2000 call for "implementing a comprehensive program for the development of the production of consumer goods and services, increasing the production of nonconsumer goods by no less than 80 to 90 percent and the volume of population services by a factor of 2.1-2.3."

The program proceeds from the need to strengthen the basic forms of essentially free population services in the areas of health care and education, to which the Soviet population is accustomed, as well as partially paid for services in the housing and communal economy sectors. The task is to develop the various areas of paid services in accordance with the Soviet population's needs and requirements.

The development of paid and free services should be harmonious and consistent with the basic principles governing the organization of the service system, according to which most of them are provided to the population free of charge, through the social consumption funds, and are part of the population's income.

It is also obvious, however, that the program pertaining to commodities and services should ensure the elimination of the lagging in the development of a number of paid population services. In order to raise the level of paid services to the level of a rational consumer budget, according to these authors' computations, their per capita volume should triple.

The level of socially organized paid services is clearly inadequate to meet consumer demand in full. In order to meet its requirements, the population is forced to turn to the services of so-called private individuals.

The main reason which "repells" consumers from the socially organized paid service system is the major shortcomings existing in the quality of the services. For example, we note in many types of services violations of the completion deadlines stipulated in consumer service regulations. Equally low is the level of the work performed. Service enterprises are inconveniently located. Particularly lagging are paid services to the population in the rural areas. Shortcomings in the economic mechanism, imperfect methods of planned management in the development of paid services and the poor influence of consumers on development conditions are all factors which determine the insufficient interest shown by economic bodies (respective ministries, departments, administrations and individual enterprises and establishments) in seeking new progressive forms and types of services and in restricting the activities of illegally operating private individuals who offer their services to the population.

A study of the overall situation which has developed in the area of paid services shows that both parties suffer. To begin with, population demand for services remains unsatisfied; secondly, the service system itself suffers significant losses. It is unable to implement its plans, it is uneven and looks for all sorts of roundabout ways to give the impression of an apparent well-being in its development.

Another current difficulty that problems of upgrading the amount of population services and improving their quality must be resolved under the circumstances of reduced possibilities of making additional investments in this area. Thus, no substantial increase in the share of capital investments for nonproduction purposes occurred in the 11th 5-year period (compared with the 10th). The growth rates of basic nonproduction assets and material outlays in the service industry declined.

Eliminating an overall imbalance in the consumption area and doubtful redistribution processes requires increasing both the volume and variety of paid services. The ratio between commodities and services purchased by the population should be improved above all by increasing the production of paid services. In the past 20 years their share in the overall consumer outlays has invariably been 10 percent or lesser. Meanwhile, the experience of the European CEMA members indicates that the share of population expenditures for services has been increasing steadily. This trend is based on the law of increased needs and primary conversion of population demand from commodities to paid sociocultural and communal services. Such a shift in demand must become more intensive as the income of the working people increases.

Furthermore, the study of the situation in this area confirms the increased disparity between supply and demand in terms of paid services as income rises essentially as a result of wage increases. Consequently, with the growth of family income, the insufficient development of paid services forces the families to allocate additional funds to purchase consumer goods, thus disproportionately increasing the pressure on the trade system. Therefore,

the accelerated development of paid population services is the objective foundation not only for the fuller satisfaction of the population's needs for services but also a factor in maintaining proper ratios in the entire consumption area.

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Involving additional resources in the service area is a necessary prerequisite for broadening the availability of paid services and thereby ensuring the fuller satisfaction of the population's solvent demand. The insufficient development of the material and technical base and insufficient availability of skilled cadres in many of its subdivisions not only hold back the growth of available services but also hinder service quality improvements. During the 11th 5-Year Plan period, fixed capital in material production continued to increase at a faster pace compared with services and most of the increased amount of manpower was channeled into the development of material production sectors. A certain reorientation of resources in favor of the service sectors, assigning greater economic significance to this area and equalizing priorities in the allocation of manpower, capital investments and other resources between material production and the nonproduction area will be required for period until the year 2000.

The problem of manpower resources is particularly topical in this connection. As a rule, the development of the service industry is labor intensive. It is precisely attracting manpower that will resolve the problem of upgrading the quality of services. However, because of their specific nature, the forms of employment in services should be made more flexible compared with industrial sectors.

A certain redistribution of resources is necessary not only between material production and the nonproduction area. Computations prove that in this case we must observe proper ratios in providing the necessary resources for the satisfaction of the needs of the population for paid and free services. Unsatisfied demand for paid services may contribute to the further intensification of processes of uncontrolled redistribution of income in favor of private individuals, including in sectors in which the population enjoys free services. That is why the more intensive utilization of common resources, based on growing demand for paid services, would be topical for some types of services related to recreation, physical culture, sports and some types of medical services. However, the assessment of the development prospects of such sectors should remain comprehensive, i.e., we must determine the optimal trends in supplying the population with free or (fully or partially) paid services. Finding such an optimal trajectory for the long-term development of the service sectors is no easy problem. However, it must be resolved both now and in the long-term.

In this connection, the following problems demand a theoretical interpretation: should objective quantification criteria be applied in broadening the scale of development of free services? What type of macroeconomic indicators should be related to the amount of social consumption funds used to cover current outlays for the maintenance of establishments and organizations providing free or discounted services? To what population



groups should such public consumption funds be directed, in what proportions and along what channels?

In terms of services, we must increase the effect of the principle of correlating consumption with the quantity and quality of invested labor. The norming of free services should remain within the area of strictly delineated boundaries. This applies, above all, to health care and education services. The practical implementation of the principle of guaranteed free services to the population in these sectors is based on the current system of socioeconomic norms, rules and standards. Providing services consistent with such standards to the population in all parts of the country and to the individual socioeconomic groups must be strictly controlled. This applies to scientific and design-construction organizations, and authorities which allocate resources for setting up and running systems of free service establishments. We must also intensify state and social supervision over the observance of such standards.

However, within the limits of such essentially free sectors, we must develop more energetically services offered to the population against pay. For example, a certain development of paid medical services should in no case distort the fundamental principles governing the organization of an essentially free Soviet health care system or lower its quality. Nevertheless, those who so desire should be given the opportunity to pay for some services over and above the guaranteed medical service standards.

It must be pointed out that frequently patients try to obtain certain medical consultations against pay merely because of dissatisfaction with the standard of services in free polyclinics. It could be said that the need for such consultations is essentially forced, reflecting the unsatisfactory organization of the work of some units in the medical service system. Order must be brought into this area and the proper functioning of this sector must be ensured. In that case, naturally, the population will turn less frequently to services of polyclinics operating on a cost accounting basis. This can also be helped by taking large-scale steps to ensure the gradual development of universal free outpatient treatment with the systematic and comprehensive monitoring of the people's health.

Obviously, even with an improved organization of free medical services, the need for some paid medical services will remain for a number of categories of people, as a rule regardless of their income level. The program for commodities and services provides normal conditions for the satisfaction of such demand. However, here we must always bear in mind the limited nature of such needs. Paid medical services are merely a supplement to the comprehensive system of free Soviet health care, applicable within a rather narrow range of activities.

However, there also are service sectors in which a more systematic development of paid services is necessary. Thus, the apportionment of funds for the development of material and technical facilities among free and paid cultural services is not always efficient. Whereas in 1960 the level between paid and free services in this area was balanced, at the beginning of the 1980s the share of paid services dropped to 20 percent of the total. Therefore, we can

claim that today yet another sector in which services are essentially free has appeared. This pertains to culture which, in terms of the activities of many types of cultural institutions, should provide paid services for a broad range of items.

The program for the development of paid services is essentially an initial attempt to systematize within the framework of the state plan all the necessary conditions for their development: not only outlays for such purposes (which, one way or another, are included in the planned balance of population income and expenditures), but also the necessary resources (labor, material outlays, fixed capital and capital investments). All of this will require improvements in planning on all levels.

New organizational forms of managing the service industry as a whole may become necessary. The reason is that most enterprises in the nonproduction area are a part of departmental services systems, which are insufficiently integrated with the planned area of all-union management. The problem is to make enterprises under different departments interested in providing paid services not only to their own group of working people and their families but to the rest of the population as well. Such a step would enable us to enhance the efficient utilization of the "capacities" of departmental service enterprises and thus to reduce the share of their maintenance and the need for additional investments and, most importantly, to enhance the level of available paid services. The commodity and service program calls for involving in population services a broad range of ministries and departments. This aspect as well becomes particularly important in surmounting departmentalism in the development of paid services.

In our view, economic methods for the integration of specialized and departmental population service systems are not the only one which may become effective levers in ensuring their coordinated development. The local authorities also play a great role. The functions and rights relative to the formulation and ratification of annual plans for the development of paid services should be gradually shifted to the councils of ministers of union republics and local soviets of people's deputies. It is essentially only the strategy, the conceptual problems in the development of the system of paid services, that should be formulated "at the top," on the national economic level. Thus, there is no reason whatsoever to set planned assignments for the development of individual types of consumers services in this area. Problems of their detailed structure could be solved most competently on the level of the local authorities, which should be given priority in formulating the structure of paid services provided to the population by all enterprises and organizations on their territory.

Such activities on the part of the local authorities in organizing paid population services by all ministries and departments, which will henceforth be based on special plans of assignments for providing services by their subordinate enterprises and organizations, assume particular importance. However, such assignments will be defined in terms of their overall monetary expression. The problem of substantiating the varietal structure of this assignment and its "physical" content should be resolved by the individual enterprise, regardless of affiliation, in coordination with the local

authorities. This is important, for it is precisely the local authorities that are sufficiently well aware of the developing demand for paid services on their territory. As we know, unlike demand for commodities, such demand is of a strictly, local, territorially limited nature.

The problem of perfecting the economic mechanism in paid population services is particularly important. The insufficiently flexible methods used in managing the corresponding enterprises are one of the main reasons for the fact that state enterprises in the various service sectors are frequently unable to compete efficiently with enterprising private individuals. Incidentally, this is also related to the negative practice of providing undocumented services.

Wages must be given a more stimulating role in the efforts to improve the economic mechanism in the service area. Currently the earnings of highly skilled masters and specialists are only slightly different from the wage levels of workers with average skills, although some services come closer to being an art and, and any such inordinate feature, should be properly taken into consideration. Presently the economic "justification" for such wage differentiations remains uncontrolled by the state. Higher earnings for high quality services, earned with absolute honesty, are received as though "under the counter," in the form of tips, various gifts, etc.

Higher pay for high-quality services by individual workers should be considered a kind of payment "for talent." Furthermore, the concept of "income" in the service area could be interpreted more broadly and extended to entire collectives. Special labor incentive funds for quality services could be set up for collectives which provide high quality services on a regular basis. The rate of withholdings for such a fund could be differentiated according to the category assigned to enterprises and establishments in accordance with standards reached of the quality of services rendered. Steps to improve wages could be taken, such as to increase the interest of the workers in preserving the high reputation of their enterprise, establishment or organization in the eyes of consumers.

The system for pricing services should be radically improved on a parallel basis. Based on end results, we must differentiate among prices and rates for services, making them dependent on the time for filling orders, technical standards and quality of services, the expedient length of time during which seasonal prices should be used, contractual prices for customized work, etc. We should see to it that in the immediate future the profitability of the basic types of paid services is attained, based on the level of the socially necessary outlays for providing services under the specific conditions of the individual parts of the country, cities, urban type settlements and rural areas. In this case, however, we should take into consideration the obligation of maintaining a kind of social supervision of services provided to low-income population categories. The respective funds which would ensure a socially acceptable level of payments should, it seems to us, be set aside for the development of such types of services (housing, communal and transportation above all).

Furthermore, we believe that economic conditions should be created for purposes of more economical work in the service sectors and the elimination of the rising amount of losses in providing them. This is a very important aspect, for as a number of paid services remain unprofitable, expanding their activities naturally results in increasing population expenditures for them. However, subsidies for maintaining such sectors become even greater. As a rule, subsidies increase faster than the expansion of paid population services, which increases the pressure on the consumer goods market. It is entirely obvious that in order to prevent this from happening, the rates for paid services, with the exception of a limited range of socially important ones (such as children's preschool institutions), should be such as to recover related costs. It is equally clear that by increasing subsidies for various paid services it would be difficult to hope for any increase in the interest of local authorities in developing them. At all times, this problem will require the search for necessary resources to finance the upkeep of the various losing service enterprises.

Improving the prices and rates of services provided to the rural population is particularly necessary. The disparity between such prices and rates of socially necessary outlays and production losses they entail have brought about a slowdown in the expansion of paid services in the countryside. Consequently, the lagging in the level of development of paid services in rural areas has been eliminated more slowly than is necessary. Outlays for paid services provided to rural families are half of those in urban areas.

It must be pointed out that the level of population services greatly depends on the proper combination of the large and small enterprises and organizations which provide them. Until recently the main efforts in broadening the system of paid services were aimed essentially at building large projects. The economic computations made to this effect frequently confirmed the expediency of this method. However, social factors were ignored. In particular, the people are interested in a number of services offered closer to home. It is precisely this which justifies the need for small enterprises or, rather, for service centers. Their advantage, compared to larger ones, is saving the time of the consumers and making services more accessible. Taking all of this into consideration, the expediency of giving priority to the development of large service enterprises no longer becomes that obvious in all cases.

The question of combining small with large enterprises in the service industry and the proper consideration of the social factors demands the attention of economists. Let us acknowledge that no suitably considered recommendations have been made in this area so far.

In our view, the secondary employment of the working population in the service industry should be encouraged more extensively, involving, as a rule, the retired, housewives, and others, in part-time work. The purpose of all of this would be the timely elimination of arising disproportions between supply and demand, upgrading the quality and standards of services and improving their economic indicators. USSR Gosplan NIEI [Scientific Research Economics Institute] computations indicate that, in the long-term, in order to reach a level of service consumption consistent with national standards, the number of service industry personnel should be almost doubled. This would be difficult

to achieve without intensifying steps to upgrade the efficiency of manpower utilization. In turn, this requires a radical increase in material and moral interest in end labor results, based on the specific nature of the work in the service industry.

Starting with 1986 a new consolidated indicator will be applied within the system of assignments based on the state plan: the volume of sales of paid population services. According to the plan, it should total 49.6 billion rubles in 1986, which exceeds the assignment set in the comprehensive program for commodities and services by 1.6 billion rubles.

The introduction of this indicator is a major step forward in the development of an integral system in managing all paid services. We should point out, however, that the methods on which this indicator is based need certain improvements. The "Methodical Instructions in Planning Paid Services for the Public," issued by the USSR Gosplan, apply only to assessing the volume indicators in providing them. The task of planning paid services, however, cannot be reduced to this alone. Equally important is backing the development of the paid service system with the necessary resources. So far, this question remains unresolved, although its solution is mandatory. The point is that in the formulation of the comprehensive program for the development of the production of consumer goods and the service sphere a methodical unity of indicators for expanding paid population services, on the one hand, and the availability of resources, on the other, was not entirely achieved. The lack of such unity opens the possibility of "non-resource" and, therefore, arbitrary setting of indicators for marketing paid services which, essentially, undermines the very idea of their comprehensive development.

As pointed out in the methodical instructions, the volume of marketing of paid services includes, in addition to population orders, "further payments made by trade unions, associations, enterprises and organizations" for discounted services, i.e., services involving subsidies from social consumption funds and other sources. However, this principle is not entirely consistent. Thus, subsidies for the upkeep of state housing, cultural institutions and organizations providing communal and transport population services are not included.

We believe that including such "additional payments" in assessing the volume of marketing of paid services is methodologically unjustified. The money paid by the population is essentially different from the money paid by trade unions, enterprises and organizations. The two should not be combined, for in that case it becomes impossible to assess the real income in cash paid by the citizens for paid services. In such a case it becomes impossible to determine the contribution which the system of paid services is making to balancing population monetary income and expenditures.

Today, in addition to payments made by the population, the indicator of the volume of marketing consumer services, within the overall volume of paid services, includes payments by organizations for services rendered. Including such funds in the indicator of services marketed inevitably distorts the concept of the results of the production activities within the sector. Naturally, it is more profitable for the service industry to fill not

population orders but orders of enterprises and organizations, i.e., orders not involving cash transfers.

Here as well, as the press has already noted, we must single out the amount of consumer services provided specifically to the population, i.e., at population expense. Starting with 1 January 1986, consumer enterprises in all union republics will be operating on the basis of the new management conditions, according to which one of the basic indicators of their activities will be the volume of consumer services paid by the population. It is precisely this indicator which should be included in paid services. In this case we should exclude the marketing of small batches of goods sold to the population by consumer service enterprises. Such commodities should not be classified as population services.

Let us point out that such problems in planning the volume of paid services in general and consumer services in particular were better solved in the special method instruction drafted by the USSR Gosplan in the course of formulating the program for commodities and services. The planning of such items, it seems to us, should make use of these solutions which are more consistent and on the basis of which the program itself was formulated.

Therefore, the methods used in planning paid services should be improved further. As a result of this, it is important to include in the system of state plan indicators the volume of services to the population paid in cash. Naturally, the plan for the development of paid services should contemplate the necessary resources in establishing the amount of services to be provided to the population.

The studies made by the USSR Gosplan NIEI indicated that the development of paid services as a whole is relatively more labor- and capital-intensive compared to increasing the output of consumer goods for an equal amount of payments by the population. Consequently, the most important task in providing the necessary resources for the development of the service system is the fullest possible utilization of the existing potential in the service industry. In the future the system of services should be developed primarily on an intensive basis.

The development of the system of paid services calls for the solution of a number of new economic and social problems. This includes the creation of an efficient economic mechanism, the rational utilization of resources and the evaluation of the social consequences of the various areas in the development of paid population services. In particular, we must always bear in mind the possible influence which measures aimed at expanding paid services may have on the material situation of the individual population groups, above all low-income families, the retired and the handicapped. They should not be harmed by the development of paid services.

Educational work with cadres in the service industry becomes particularly important. This should involve not only the strict observance of service standards, rules and current legislation but also behavioral standards and the honor of the personnel. At the same time, we must increase the variety of forms of supervision of the activities of enterprises in this area.



The efficient development of paid services is a complex many-faceted problem the solution of which cannot be attained through usual planning and management methods but through the application of an integral system of interrelated steps.

As the draft new edition of the CPSU program indicates, major steps will be taken to create a contemporary highly developed service industry. "Increasing the volume, widening the variety and improving the quality of services will enable us better to satisfy the growing demands of the population for a variety of forms of housing-communal, transportation, household and sociocultural services, facilitate household chores and create better conditions for recreation and meaningful utilization of leisure time and proper relaxation." The program for the development of services is based on the vital interests of the Soviet people and is aimed at satisfying their growing and increasingly greater needs.

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## GUARDING LAW AND ORDER AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

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[Article by A. Rekunkov, Procurator General of the USSR]

[Text] Stengthening socialist legality which is an effective factor in asserting the equality of all citizens in the eyes of the law, protecting the rights of the individual and, at the same time, upgrading the discipline and self-discipline of the members of society, is a major intrinsic element in perfecting and intensifying Soviet democracy.

The need for further broadening the legal foundations of state and social life and the strict observance of Soviet laws by all officials and citizens has been codified in the USSR Constitution and, as the draft new edition of the CPSU program notes, remains a subject of constant party concern. Freedom, human rights and the dignity of the individual, demands inscribed on the banner of socialism, have been given a real meaning in our country. The socialist way of life means unity of rights and obligations and the practice of uniform laws and morality standards in society and a single discipline for all of its citizens. Every Soviet person must be firmly convinced that his legitimate interests are protected by all bodies of the state and social organizations. All manifestations of bureaucratism and formalism must be persistently uprooted; unconscientiousness, abuse of official position, aspiration to personal enrichment, nepotism and favoritism must be decisively stopped and strictly punished. This is one of the most important conclusions based on the party's programmatic stipulations.

### I

The precise and strict observance of socialist legality expresses an objective requirement of social development. Energetic work on strengthening law and order and discipline enhances the authority of the party and the state and becomes an efficient means of ensuring social justice.

At the same time, as confirmed by the history of the establishment and development of Soviet democracy, any underestimating of the significance of the strictest possible observance of legality, the lowering of its role and any deviation from the principles of social justice, codified in the USSR Constitution and the Soviet laws, entails major political costs and adversely

affects both the upbringing of the people and the intensive growth of the economy. It must be openly said that the adverse trends and difficulties in the country's development, which appeared in the 1970s and the beginning of 1980s, and the insufficient resolve and consistency displayed in the exercise of governmental and social supervision over the measure of labor and the measure of consumption and the elimination of phenomena alien to socialism restrained the solution of a number of national economic problems and led to a weakening of social discipline. Problems of drunkenness, parasitism and unearned income were aggravated; a variety of abuses became widespread and the principle of unity between legality and its universally mandatory nature was violated.

In the Uzbek SSR and Azerbaijan SSRs, Rostov Oblast and elsewhere tolerance of violations of the laws and norms of socialist morality, the occasional protection of its violators, a scornful attitude toward citizens' reports and major shortcomings in ideological education and cadre work led some managers, who had turned bureaucrats, to associate with smart operators and swindlers, and to bribery and whitewashing and organized theft of the people's property and retaliation for criticism. The harm which these and similar distortions caused to the education of the citizens and the prestige of governmental bodies does not have to be spelled out in detail.

The November 1982 and April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenums made a principle-minded assessment of such negative phenomena and the necessary steps were taken to improve the situation. Particularly relevant in connection with these tasks is the report of the USSR procurator general "On the Activities of the USSR Prosecutor's Office in Supervising the Observance of Soviet Laws on Strengthening Law and Order and Safeguarding the Rights and Legitimate Interests of the Citizens," which was submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet in July 1985 for its consideration.

The steps which were taken on the party's initiative were unanimously approved by the people. A number of examples could be cited confirming that as a result of energetic joint efforts by state and public bodies, the increased activeness of the working people themselves to strengthen labor discipline and the observance of the laws and the intensified struggle against manifestations of slackness and irresponsibility, labor productivity showed a substantial increase, other indicators of economic activities improved and the moral climate in production collectives became substantially better.

The struggle for uprooting drunkenness and alcoholism, which was mounted on CPSU Central Committee initiative, has already brought about a drop in the number of violations in this area, a reduction in losses from absenteeism, and a strengthening of public order. The very atmosphere of our life is becoming cleaner.

"The party," reads the draft new edition of the CPSU program, "ascribes prime significance to the systematic and persistent uprooting of labor discipline violations, theft and bribery, black marketeering and parasitism, drunkenness and hooliganism, private ownership mentality and money grubbing, toadying and servility. To this effect full use must be made of the authority of public opinion and the force of the law."

The party's programmatic stipulations require a more profound study of the reasons for delinquency and conditions contributing to their tenacity. The nature of socialism, the level of socioeconomic maturity reached and the improved level of well-being and culture of the Soviet people create favorable conditions for the successful elimination of negative phenomena, more than ever before.

Under the Soviet system the number of criminal cases has declined several hundred percent, although the country's population increased substantially. The nature of crime as well has changed. More than 80 percent of crimes committed today are not classified as severe and a high percentage of them come close to being misdemeanors. The number of attempts made on the life and health of citizens, juvenile delinquency and many other criminally punishable actions has dropped of late. In thousands of settlements throughout the country either no major crimes have been committed at all or else they have been isolated cases. Although the process of reducing criminality is by no means developing smoothly, practical experience proves that under our circumstances many crimes can be stopped or prevented on time.

It would be an error, however, to assume that under socialist conditions crime should disappear virtually unaided. "Vestiges of capitalism" are by no means the only reason for antisocial behavior. Such behavior is also triggered by errors and blunders committed in our life and by the various contradictions which appear in the course of building socialism. We cannot claim that under socialism there are no objective conditions whatsoever for delinquency and crime. It is common knowledge that phenomena, such as drunkenness, parasitism, money grubbing and whitewashing, have by no means been eliminated and that in the absence of firmness and consistency in the struggle against them they could even increase and contribute to the distorted development of the individual.

The problem of surmounting and, in the final account, eliminating crime and other negative phenomena cannot be reduced merely to that of upgrading the efficiency of legal standards and the work of law enforcement bodies. The solution of this problem depends on improving the sum total of social relations. Still relevant are V.I. Lenin's instructions to the effect that "a cultural problem cannot be resolved as quickly as a political or military one," and that "the very nature of the matter requires more time and, an adaptation to such a longer period of time, rating one's work and displaying the greatest possible persistence, insistence and system" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 44, pp 174-175).

Practical experience refutes the rather widespread view that the "weakness" and "softness" of our laws prevent the achievement of more impressive results in the struggle against antisocial behavior. Some consider this to be the almost main hindrance to the solution of major economic and social problems.

Naturally, the efforts to strengthen order and social discipline, which have developed of late in the country, required making a number of legislative decisions. It is quite indicative, however, that the determining feature of the current course is not increasing coercive measures but relying on the improved organization and conscious self-discipline of the working people, the

creation of an atmosphere of universal condemnation surrounding the violators of the standards and rules of socialist community life, and the conscientious and honest implementation of obligations by every Soviet person, from worker to minister.

This is a legitimate trend. Major changes have taken place in our country in the correlation between methods of persuasion and coercion and in the very nature of the coercive measures themselves. The Leninist concept that we must first persuade and only then resort to coercion has been further creatively developed in our practical work. Even if a crime has been committed, punishment is no longer the only reaction to the fact. The educational functions of the law, which today is based on the tremendous possibilities of labor collectives and the public, is now manifested more fully and clearly. In the case of a first offense, not considered particularly grave, the law allows the use of measures of social influence based, above all, on moral responsibility, rather than the imposition of criminal punishment. Practical experience has indicated the particular effectiveness of this method.

Individualized responsibility, consistent with the nature of the crime and the personality of the culprit, organically stems from the democratic and humane nature of Soviet legislation and its distinct justice. All of this confirms not the weakness but, conversely, the strength of our laws. Naturally, we must not allow for the authority of the collective to be used, as is sometimes the case, not for the sake of correcting someone but for protecting a criminal. An uncompromising struggle must be waged against such cases. Strict criminal punishment will be unfailingly meted in the case of individuals who commit severe crimes and repeaters.

2

The systematic implementation of the party's strategy for the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development and, on this basis, reaching a qualitatively new status of Soviet society, presumes the advancement of the legal mechanism which regulates economic activities and the active and coordinated interaction between legal and economic factors. Whatever most important national economic problems we may be dealing with--acceleration of scientific and technical progress, strengthening thrift, upgrading labor productivity, strengthening discipline, perfecting the system of centralized planning and management or the further intensification of cost accounting relations--the solution of all such problems is directly related to the use of legal means and the strict observance of the law in the daily activities of enterprises, organizations, associations, ministries and departments.

Naturally, we must not forget that economic measures and levers are the foundations for the development of the national economy. That is why we must not underestimate the adverse effect of breakdowns in the functioning of the economic mechanism. Uncoordinated actions among departments, disparities between production assignments and their material support, plan disproportions, imperfect accountability systems, shifts in values and other shortcomings in economic management create the aspiration to replace economic with arbitrary solutions and, frequently, to circumvent the law. Furthermore, economic legislation remains cumbersome and, in many cases, clearly obsolete.

This paralyzes the autonomy and initiative of enterprises and organizations. In this respect science has fallen behind practical requirements.

However, it would be essentially erroneous to present matters as though such shortcomings enable us, for the sake of so-called expediency, to circumvent the law and raise such practices almost to the level of socialist initiative. Such unquestionably erroneous views not only do not contribute to the solution of real problems but even worsen them. The reasons for this are found in the still extant tradition of qualifying the use of legal penalties as "bureaucratic administration," which is of little benefit to production and management. Some of our economic managers are obviously insufficiently aware or make insufficient practical use of the tremendous opportunities for economic growth found in the law and of discipline based on it.

The functions of the existing juridical services have been unjustifiably curtailed and are frequently reduced merely to handling claims. Yet their prime task is comprehensively to assist in strengthening legality in economic sectors, ensure the protection of socialist property, prevent the violation of the rights and legitimate interests of enterprises, organizations, establishments and private citizens and to assert real rather than formal cost accounting, thus contributing to achieving better economic results.

Planning, supervision of the production process and the administrative apparatus and intersectorial relations and ties--these largely decisive sectors of the national economy--are still, unfortunately, by no means fully handled by lawyers. One-third of industrial enterprises and one-half of kolkhozes and sovkhoses have no legal services at all. It is obvious that this state of affairs should be changed as soon as possible.

State economic discipline is one of the most important prerequisites for the prevention of unearned income. This phenomenon, which is profoundly alien to our way of life, is a violation of the socialist principle of distribution according to labor, the consistent assertion of which is emphasized in the draft new edition of the CPSU program.

The money grubbers use shortcomings and omissions in the economic mechanism, in the accountability and storage of valuables, the imperfection of some legal norms and economic difficulties for purposes of illegal enrichment. The most dangerous and criminal methods for acquiring unearned income are thefts, profiteering, swindling customers, bribe taking and other mercenary abuses. A significant share of unearned income comes from private entrepreneurial and middleman activities, illegal industries, poaching, leasing housing at speculative prices and illegal use of state transportation facilities and equipment.

"Moonlighting" has become widespread. Its mentality, as was aptly noted in one of the letters received by the USSR Procurator's Office, is in frequent cases much closer to that of the profiteer than the honest working person. In frequent cases "moonlighting" wages are arbitrary. Naturally, this leads to abuses and bribery. For example, a number of smart operators heading construction brigades in Krasnodar Kray, were found guilty of illegally appropriating hundreds of thousands of rubles.



Violations of the principle of "to each according to his work," and shortcomings in the struggle against them have a corrupting influence on unstable people. They cause the indignation of honest workers and create opportunities for uncontrolled circulation of cash and material values. The struggle against unearned income will be pursued most decisively with the help of all economic, legal, organizational and moral measures.

In frequent cases, the reasons for violations of legality in economic activities are found in the insufficient responsibility of officials, unsatisfactory supervision of their work and the tolerance displayed by central departments toward individuals who violate the law and labor and state discipline. Not all ministries and departments or their subdivisions have actively joined in the struggle for bringing order in production and the protection of socialist property. Intradepartmental control remains the weakest link in the economic mechanism. This becomes particularly apparent in the case of those directly responsible for losses. In recent years the number of charges filed by procurators against such individuals has increased manyfold. The procurator's office will pursue such efforts actively and persistently. However, the situation will not be entirely corrected until the economic managers themselves radically change their attitude toward the problem, although a change for the better has already taken place in several republics and oblasts.

Firmness and consistency are particularly important in the struggle against the enduring practice of account padding in state accountability reports on plan fulfillments. As a rule, this is done not by individual officials but groups of senior personnel, involving gross violations of financial discipline and the principle of wages based on labor. This weakens labor discipline and is sometimes directly related to theft. Padding suits bureaucrats and dodgers who have dug themselves inside the economic apparatus and who frequently deliberately sacrifice the interests of the state and corrupt cadres, motivated by careeristic considerations or personal greed.

In the Uzbek SSR, for example, the procurator's office is investigating dozens of criminal cases of account padding in the production and sale of cotton to the state. Criminal proceedings have been initiated against senior personnel of the Ministry of the Cotton Cleaning Industry, sovkhoz directors and kolkhoz chairmen. Investigations conducted by the procurator's office in the organizations and central apparatus of the USSR Ministry of Construction Materials, Ministry of Railways, USSR Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances and USSR Ministry of Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry proved that most frequently such padding here was the result of connivance on the part of superior economic management units, including senior of ministry and department personnel. Even after economic managers had been exposed for whitewashing they frequently were left unpunished until the law enforcement bodies were forced to intervene.

Unfortunately, whitewashers are frequently not only supported but even openly defended by some sectorial management units, local soviet and party bodies and individual officials who, for the sake of creating the appearance of well-being and the desire to report plan fulfillments at whatever costs are willing to violate their conscience and shut their eyes at swindling the state.

However, examples of the direct opposite exist as well. Thus, cases of interceding for individuals who have abused their official position or deputy mandate are becoming increasingly infrequent in Bryansk Oblast. Throughout 1985 the local authorities did not refuse even once to agree to the criminal prosecution of deputies guilty of crimes. The CPSU obkom is strictly seeing to it that economic managers sentenced for whitewashing are expelled from the party and from leading positions. Such a principle-minded position significantly facilitates the work of the procurator's office and the other law enforcement and supervisory bodies in identifying and exposing whitewashers. The need for the sharpest and most uncompromising assessment of various abuses is manifested particularly clearly now, at the meetings and conferences taking place on the eve of the 27th CPSU Congress.

Tremendous opportunities for upgrading economic efficiency reside in the full observance of the stipulations of the Law on Labor Collectives. However, many enterprises do not use the opportunities offered by this law for the extensive participation of workers in strengthening discipline and organization.

Providing effective legal assistance to labor collectives is today one of the main trends in the preventive work conducted by the law enforcement authorities. For example, there were labor discipline difficulties at the Kamenetsk-Podolsk Cement Plant in Khmel'nitskiy Oblast. Many of the workers engaged in absenteeism and petty theft or were sent to sobering-up places. Meanwhile, comrade courts and other social bodies were inactive. However, the city procurator's office did not limit itself to dealing with the specific violators. Active legal propaganda work was organized at the plant and collective supervision over the behavior of violators of the law was intensified. Positive results were not slow in coming: discipline strengthened, absenteeism diminished and the number of people guilty of crimes or petty theft and "guests" of the sobering-up tank declined by one-half.

The labor collectives have great possibilities in fighting parasitism as well. As investigations conducted in Donetsk, Chimkent, Chelyabinsk and Penza Oblasts indicated, this social evil cannot be easily dealt with if opposed merely with isolated or halfway measures and if the law enforcement and other state bodies and local soviets of people's deputies operate on their own without an efficient coordinated program. As available experience indicates, the struggle against parasites is efficient by combining the efforts of the public and the state bodies, maintaining unabated control over this category of individuals and helping them to keep their jobs in the labor collectives. Criminal sanctions must be applied in dealing with the most malicious parasites. However, one can and must struggle for such people as well even after they have been sentenced. They must be helped to learn a profession in order to become full members of society.

3

The fact that problems of strengthening discipline and legality have become the focal point of the country's sociopolitical life required a major restructuring of the entire work of the procurator's office.

Lenin considered this office a major guarantee for establishing uniform legality throughout the country. He formulated and supported the principle that the procurator's office is independent of the local authorities. The procurators oversee the accurate and uniform application of the laws regardless of local differences or local or departmental influences.

The nature of such oversight is that by implementing their rights independently of the local authorities, on behalf of the state the procurators have the right and obligation to demand that no single decision of the local authorities is at variance with the law, that the state administrative authorities and public organizations carry out their duties for the prevention of delinquency and ensuring the observance of legalities and that any violations of the law, whatever their origin, are promptly eliminated and the culprits are held responsible under the law. Acting as a body of the central authorities in this respect, the procurator's office has an investigative machinery which, if necessary, can investigate any type of criminal action and ensure the inevitable prosecution and punishment of the culprits.

The procurator's office does not engage in extraneous general "investigations" of enterprises, organizations or superior management authorities. As in any other case, the procurator intervenes in the economic management area only if the law is broken, the actions or, conversely, inactions of officials threaten the interest the state or the rights of the citizens and if the administrative apparatus has failed to take the necessary measures to prevent violations of the law. In such cases, in accordance with the Law on the USSR Prosecutor's Office, the procurator's office must take prompt measures to eliminate detected violations. The active stance of the procurator's office could be and frequently is a major factor in bringing order in production.

In a number of areas major questions are discussed related to intensifying the struggle against negligence and waste and observing state discipline in transportation, construction and the agroindustrial complex, on the suggestion of the procurators. Investigations conducted by the procurator's office in many republics, krays and oblasts have revealed a frequent cases of inertia on the part of the USSR State Committee for Supply of Petroleum Products and its failure to fulfill its direct obligation to stop abuses and waste. In Kalinin Oblast, for example, in a 3-year period inspectors from this department failed to expose a single case of violation of the law. In Estonia and Kaliningrad Oblast some managers of local bodies of the committee were bribed to hire dishonest individuals in materially responsible positions; in Moscow and Georgia such officials were bribed to cover up thefts.

The work style of the apparatus of the committee itself and its managers drew close attention. Here ensuring the protection of socialist property and supervising the work of subordinate authorities were frequently reduced to formal-bureaucratic reaction to individual negative facts. Accountability and control-auditing activities were neglected. Gross abuses in cadre selection were found. All of this was not a chain of accidents. It turned out that some leading committee workers were abusing their official position for selfish purposes. P. Khuramshin, committee chairman, was relieved from his position and expelled from the party. The procurator's office is continuing to investigate such facts.

In order to assist in bringing order in the use of a valuable and scarce raw material, such as petroleum products, an all-union practical science conference on "Perfecting the Practice of the Struggle Against Theft, Figure Padding and Irresponsibility in the Use of Fuels and Lubricants" will be held in the near future with the participation of many departments and supervisory authorities.

The time is long past when the procurator's office was looked upon only as a punitive authority. Every year approximately 3 million citizens turn to the procurator's offices. The people come essentially for advice, interpretation of laws and help in labor, housing and family affairs; they report violations of legality and shortcomings in crime prevention and the preservation of public order. Last year, for example, the procurator's office acted on nearly 90,000 complaints and petitions by citizens.

We realize that under present conditions the responsibility of the procurator's office for the firm defense of citizens' rights and state interests is increasing. However, there are still cases in which some procurator's office workers, who have not realized this entirely, allow a superficial attitude toward the work, yield to local influence and display toothlessness and spinelessness. We expose such cases ourselves, finding out about them from individuals and press articles, and take the strictest possible measures to correct them.

It is precisely for such reasons that recently some officials of the procurator's office in the Kazakh SSR, Maritime Kray and Donetsk Oblast were fired.

Today the procurator's office is increasingly relying on the working people and organizing a system of interacting with state authorities in crime prevention. Jointly formulated and systematically taken steps enable us not only to follow events closely but also to prevent the growth of individual petty violations into dangerous illegal acts.

It has become a rule for procurators to participate in the meetings of the collegiums of ministries and departments at which presentations and other materials are submitted by the procurator's office, dealing with exposed violations and shortcomings in the organization of preventive work. In turn, if necessary, the heads of ministries, departments, associations and organizations are summoned to the procurator's office. Such practices enable us jointly to earmark and take practical actions to strengthen discipline and law and order. The measure formulated jointly with the USSR Ministry of Automotive Industry enabled us to intensify the struggle against theft, waste and profiteering at the Volga Automotive Vehicles Plant and other enterprises in the sector.

However, failure to see the major difficulties and omissions in this work would be unpardonable placidity. We have frequently realized that although in submitting presentations on the elimination of violations of the law the procurator's office receives answers concerning the measures taken and the punishment of the culprits, this is frequently not backed by serious work, for which reason the actual situation hardly changes. What is worse is that after

a while such violations are repeated, followed by further representations. The result an unnecessary second- and sometime even third-round correspondence which goes on for years on end. What is this if not pure formalism which discredits the authority of the state bodies in the eyes of the working people!

We consider that the principal meaning of all efforts to improve the work of the procurator's office is for its supervisory actions to help more actively the party committees in resolving a variety of difficult problems related to strengthening public discipline and legality and establishing even closer and more purposeful interaction with the soviets of people's deputies, the people's control bodies and other supervisory authorities. We consider major omissions in the work cases in which procurators do not hear our citizens at places of work or fail to inform a labor collective or its aktiv of a forthcoming investigation or of the results of a conducted one.

The 3 July 1985 USSR Supreme Soviet decree, passed on the basis of a report submitted by the USSR procurator general, notes that the activities of the procurator's office are still not completely consistent with the requirements of the party and the state regarding the further strengthening of socialist legality. The USSR Supreme Soviet has made it incumbent upon the procurator's office to upgrade supervision and take decisive steps to expose and promptly eliminate any violations of the law.

One of the key problems in the struggle against crime is improving crime detection and ensuring the inevitability of punishment. The working people justifiably demand that any crime be properly investigated and the culprits punished as they deserve. Unfortunately, the solution of this problem has been adversely affected by claims made not so long ago according to which primary attention in improving the exposure of crime is giving the struggle against crime a passive, a defensive nature. This erroneous concept and the insufficient persistence of procurator's supervision have brought about a number of useless reorganizations of the investigative apparatus, curtailing the functions of investigative authorities, worsening of BKhSS [Struggle Against Theft of Socialist Property and Speculation] and worsening discipline among internal affairs personnel and, in the final account, a certain drop in the efficiency of the struggle against crime.

These efforts are also harmed by frequent and very categorically sounding demands for "immediately lowering" the crime rate, addressed to the law enforcement authorities exclusively, rather than to those who, by the nature of their activities must actually ensure the elimination of the reasons which trigger delinquency. On the one hand, this approach has a demobilizing effect on those whose intensive and, above all, efficient work is underrated; on the other, it triggers complacency instead of concern wherever purely quantitative indicators of law enforcement activities create the appearance of success. Reliance on formal indicators has occasionally led to bureaucratic inaction concerning reports by citizens and antigovernmental practices of concealing crimes from internal affairs authorities. In turn, this undermines one of the basic principles of successful work against crime--the inevitability of punishment.



Of late the law enforcement authorities have begun to expose more energetically thefts of socialist property and bribery involving personnel in light industry, fishing, trade enterprises and procurement organizations in Moscow, Kiev, Odessa and other cities. Naturally, this has increased the number of cases of waste, theft and crime in accountability reports. However, such seemingly "worsened" statistics mean improvements in the situation in the country and intensifying steps aimed at preventing a variety of abuses which, judging by the numerous letters from citizens received by the procurator's office authorities, meets with the full support of the working people.

Today crucial tasks are faced by juridical science which, because of the alienation of some scientists from life and other reasons, has still not assumed leading positions on a number of topical problems of strengthening legality and owes a great deal of help to practical workers. This applies completely as well to the All-Union Institute for the Study of Reasons For and Elaboration of Crime Prevention Measures. Its leadership was recently strengthened and specific steps were taken to upgrade the efficiency of scientific work and to accelerate putting scientific recommendations to practical use.

As the 27th CPSU Congress nears, the collegium and party committees of the USSR Prosecutor's Office are steadily working to establish a business-like atmosphere in the procurator's office authorities, which would exclude cases of absence of self-criticism and formalism. Knowledge of the law, responsiveness to people, crystal-pure honesty, justice and an intolerant attitude toward violations of legal and moral standards are mandatory professional qualities of today's procurator cadres and other law enforcement authorities.

The main thing today is comprehensively to develop within the personnel a feeling of high responsibility for assignments. We will react particularly sharply to violations of socialist legality. Thus, quite recently, V. Putimtsev, procurator of the North Osetian ASSR was relieved from his position for the unjustified criminal prosecution of several individuals. However isolated such cases may be, they inevitably stain our activities and are painfully reflected in the public consciousness.

In defending state interests and countering any efforts to violate the law and citizens' rights procurators are frequently subjected to pressure on the part of some leading local officials. The most typical examples of such pressure are efforts to help delinquent officials and deputies to avoid liability. Efforts are still being made to influence procurators in making decisions on the responsibility of culprits for violations of the law by party members or attempts to force procurators to coordinate in advance such problems with party committees or else even to obtain their preliminary agreement before issuing criminal indictments against party members. Such "coordination" is nothing other than a direct violation of the law. Every citizen, party member or not, must be held liable for any criminally punishable action according to the law. The investigative authorities and judges must report to the party committees cases of the criminal indictment of party members, so that the respective party organizations could decide on the party responsibility of those who have violated the law.



The activities of the procurator's office, like those of other law enforcement bodies are unabatedly supervised by the party and the USSR Supreme Soviet, whose attention, support and aid we feel at all times. However, decisions about the liability of individuals can be made only on the basis of the law and the full responsibility for the strictest observance of legality is borne by the law enforcement authorities. We know that Lenin considered harmful suggestions of granting legal immunity of party members if no sanctions had been imposed by the local party committees; he called for "stenghtening the judicial responsibility of party members" (op. cit., vol 44, p 243).

The inadmissibility of the interference of party committees in the activities of prosecution and judicial investigative authorities has been frequently emphasized in CPSU Central Committee resolutions. Fully in accordance with Lenin's instructions, article 12 of the draft CPSU bylaws (with suggested amendments) stipulates that: "A party member bears double responsibility for violating Soviet laws: to the state and to the party. Individuals who have committed crimes subject to criminal punishment are expelled from CPSU ranks." In assessing our work from the positions of the high strictness with which CPSU Central Committee and Politburo activities are noted, we clearly see what a great deal remains to be done to raise the entire work of the procurator's office authorities to the level of the problems currently resolved by the party, thus multiplying our contribution to strengthening order and discipline and firmly protecting the rights of the individual and social justice.

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## SPIRITUAL UNITY

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[Article by Yu. Melentyev, minister of culture of the RSFSR]

[Text] Socialist Culture and Some Problems of Internationalist Upbringing

The draft new edition of the CPSU program, offered for nationwide discussion, deals extensively with problems of culture. The party's tasks in the area of cultural construction are not only presented in a separate section but, to one extent of another, are touched upon in the first, second and third sections of the draft.

"The purpose of the cultural sphere," the document reads, "is to satisfy the growing requirements of the various population categories and to provide the necessary opportunities for amateur artistic creativity by the people, to develop talent, to enrich the socialist way of life and to shape healthy needs and high aesthetic taste."

One of the most important features of Soviet culture is its multinational nature. The creation of a truly people's multinational Soviet culture, which has earned international recognition, is defined by the draft as a historical accomplishment of our system. The future of cultural construction cannot be properly conceived without taking this essential circumstance into consideration.

In this respect, a consideration of the role and place of socialist culture in the international education of the Soviet people and the process of convergence among and unification of the fraternal peoples of the USSR is of great interest and importance.

We know that in the comprehensive activities of the Communist Party problems of perfecting national relations have played an important role throughout its history. They were reflected in the first party program of 1903, at the 2nd RSDWP Congress, and in the second party program which was approved in 1919 by the 8th RKP(b) Congress.

In this struggle, which was waged for the elimination of national inequality and the assertion of equality, friendship and fraternity among the peoples of

our country, multinational Soviet culture invariably played an increasingly important role. The third CPSU program, which entered our life with the 22nd Party Congress, paid significant attention to culture in the field of development of national relations and called for comprehensively developing the socialist content of the cultures of the peoples of the USSR, assisting in their further reciprocal enrichment and convergence, and strengthening their international foundations.

These programmatic stipulations were implemented successfully. On the eve of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, in its decree on the occasion of this noteworthy anniversary, the CPSU Central Committee noted that "...the single international culture of the Soviet people, which serves all working people and expresses their common ideals, is growing and strengthening. It encompasses all that is of universal significance in the achievements and original traditions of national cultures. Socialist in content, varied in national forms and internationalist in spirit and nature, Soviet culture has become a great force in the ideological and moral unification of nations and nationalities in the Soviet Union."

Soviet culture attained such a level and significance as a result of many years of intensive and purposeful efforts by the Communist Party, the Soviet state and the entire people in making a cultural revolution in our country, the beginning of which was laid with the victory of the great October Revolution.

V. I. Lenin scientifically substantiated and comprehensively identified the nature of the concept of "cultural revolution," which he considered an inseparable part of socialist reorganization in the country. A problem not only of tremendous scale but of an absolutely new nature, never before encountered by another country or society, was to be resolved in the course of the cultural revolution: the eradication of illiteracy in the country, arming the multi-million strong toiling masses with the achievements of culture and opening to every person, regardless of social status and nationality, all sources of knowledge and the entire spiritual wealth accumulated by mankind.

The peoples of Russia have always been rich in talent. Many native men of science, culture and the arts have made substantial contributions to the treasury of Russian and world culture. Their names are universally famous. In prerevolutionary years, however, the treasures of spiritual culture were inaccessible to the millions of working people.

The tsarist government and the ruling classes did everything possible to hinder the access by the working people to education and culture, keeping them prisoner of false ideas and concepts for the sake of preserving their rule and adding spiritual to physical coercion. A profound gap existed between progressive culture, science and art, on the one hand, and the people's masses, on the other.

It was with bitterness and indignation that Lenin wrote in 1913 that "Russia is the only wild country left in Europe in which the popular masses have been plundered to such an extent in the sense of education, light and knowledge" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 23, p 127).

A multinational and multilayered cultural revolution had to be made in the country. Strictly following the ancient imperial principle of "divide and rule," autocracy tried to divide the peoples on the basis of national and religious features. It cultivated tribal hostility, promoted hatred of "foreigners" and persecuted and suppressed national cultures. At the time of the October Revolution 48 nations (along the Volga, in Daghestan, Central Asia and Siberia) did not even have their own alphabets. Some 25 million people inhabiting the national outlying areas of Russia had reached different levels of precapitalist development.

The revolution put an end to this intolerable situation. The October Revolution enriched the history of mankind with the experience of the spiritual emancipation of the working people. During the very first years of the Soviet system two streams merged in the country: on the one hand, the irrepressible attraction of the broad masses, awakened by the revolution, to culture and knowledge; on the other, the will of the communists and the readiness of many party and nonparty enthusiasts to dedicate their strength and knowledge to education and to raising the people in the spirit of socialist ideals.

The gap which separated culture from the people was eliminated in the course of the cultural revolution. Socialism offered the people's masses the possibility of using all spiritual goods and the riches of science, culture and art. Within an incredibly short time a turn which could have been considered inconceivable even in terms of centuries, took place in the way of life of tens of peoples inhabiting the former Russian empire.

As early as 1934, no more than 17 years after the October Revolution, the 17th party congress noted in its decree that "during the First 5-Year Plan the USSR became a country of progressive culture. ...A particularly significant economic and cultural growth occurred in the national areas of the union, rapidly advancing toward the definitive elimination of their backwardness."

Lenin's doctrine of the socialist cultural revolution is broad and many-faceted. Without undertaking its full description, let us consider some of its crucial aspects.

Lenin's great merit was to provide a Marxist answer to the question of the attitude toward the culture of the past and cultural tradition.

Even before the October Revolution, speaking out against the wild outburst of the dark wave of pseudopatriotism, he bluntly asked: "Is a feeling of national pride alien to us, to the Great Russian conscious proletariat?" He most firmly answered: "Naturally, it is not! We love our language and our homeland..." (op. cit., vol 26, p 107). To Lenin, however, this love meant no passive admiration, for it was directed above all at lifting the Russian toiling masses "to the conscious life of democrats and socialists" (ibid.).

During the first postrevolutionary years, the Proletkult leaders and the "leftist" men of arts who followed them, who promoted the development of a separate proletarian culture, rejected the cultural legacy of the past. They called for throwing Pushkin overboard from the steamship of contemporaneity,

to burn Raphael, to destroy museums, etc. Lenin saw the danger of such views, and described them as "total nonsense." "We do not need the fabrication of a new proletarian culture," he wrote, "but the development of the best models, traditions and results of existing culture from the viewpoint of the Marxist outlook..." (op. cit., vol 41, p 462). Lenin's expressive formula will prevail through the centuries: "One can become a communist only by enriching one's memory with the knowledge of the entire wealth created by mankind" (ibid., p 305).

At the same time Lenin firmly opposed the uncritical use of the entire old culture. Such an attitude toward bourgeois culture was characteristic, for example, of Trotskyites, who claimed that proletarian culture could appear only in the distant future, after the victory of the socialist revolution on a global scale.

In defending the need for the proletariat to use the cultural legacy of the past, Lenin called for a class approach and for bearing in mind the existence of "two national cultures within each national culture. There is the Great Russian culture of the Purishkeviches, Guchkovs and Struves; however, there also is the Great Russian culture, represented by Chernyshevskiy and Plekhanov" (op. cit., vol 24, p 129). "...We," he concluded, "take from each national culture only its democratic and socialist elements. We take only them and unquestionably as a counterbalance to bourgeois culture and to the bourgeois nationalism of any nation" (ibid., p 121).

In singling out changes in culture as a specific task, Lenin also emphasized that its implementation is organically related to all aspects of social life and is triggered by the socioeconomic and political needs relative to its development.

Lenin considered as the main element of the cultural revolution the creative and constructive activities of the people's masses. "'From below,' i.e., from the mass of toiling people which capitalism separated by naked force, hypocrisy and fraud, from education," he pointed out, "comes a powerful upsurge toward light and knowledge" (op. cit., vol 42, p 326).

These words clearly reveal the Leninist democracy and faith in the masses perceived by him as both the object and subject of a cultural revolution. Hence the conclusion of the need steadily to maintain the unity between the two forces of cultural construction: the upsurge and initiative of the popular masses themselves and party and state leadership, aimed at serving and helping this upsurge.

In presenting these fundamental Leninist views, let us emphasize their permanent significance in terms of our present practical activities as well.

The Leninist call, not for passive "consumption" of cultural values but for the active participation of the working people in their creation and for an upsurge in the activeness of people's artistic creativity, remains extremely relevant to this day. Characteristically, in this connection, the draft of the new edition of the CPSU program systematically emphasizes both the importance of the creation of the necessary conditions for the fullest

possible identification of the capabilities, gifts and talents of the Soviet people as well as the importance of the fuller and more profound mastery of the wealth of spiritual and material culture by the toiling masses and their active involvement with artistic creativity.

The adoption of the law "On the Preservation and Utilization of Historical and Cultural Monuments" by the USSR and each union republic was an event of tremendous importance. Extensive work is underway and a difficult struggle is being waged for its comprehensive implementation and for a Leninist attitude toward cultural legacy, for, most unfortunately, there have been and still are many losses caused by neglect, administrative passions, ignorance and recurrences of Proletkult views, according to which anything that is new is better than anything that is old.

Is there a justification for a not fully critical attitude toward bourgeois surrogates of musical culture, which have led to the fact that in music we have begun to suffer from tangible ideological and aesthetic casualties, sometimes losing our influence over young people? Is this not the result of ideological omnivorousness and neglect of the Leninist principles of party-mindedness in art?

Is the revival in the science of history and literature of the totally unjustified interest in figures which were stained by reactionary actions and the indiscriminate attraction for anything old and concessions to reactionary customs, and sometimes even flirtation with the divinity not proof of insufficient knowledge of Marxist-Leninist science and of the theoretical weakness of some of our cadres?

Our sacred duty is not to retreat by even an iota from the essential Leninist party positions, to seek Lenin's advice at all times and to follow him in everything. "...To provide," as stipulated in the decree of the June 1983 Central Committee Plenum, "an accurate party assessment of works in which views alien to our society and our ideology are expressed and violations of historical truth allowed."

The history of world culture proves that no single nation can make do with its own cultural values only. The more developed and tenacious a nation is the stronger becomes its need for cultural intercourse with other nations.

The process of development and rapprochement among the national cultures of the peoples of Russia, which historically developed as a multinational state, began long before the October Revolution.

We are familiar with the place which the Caucasus held in the work of Pushkin, Lermontov and Tolstoy. We remember that one of the poetic reactions to Pushkin's death was a poem by Mirza Fatali Akhundov, the Azerbaijani writer and educator. Griboyedov's immortal comedy "Woe from Wit" was translated into Georgian by Aleksandr Kazbegi, the novelist and playwright. Abay Kunanbayev brought to the steppes of Kazakhstan the works of Pushkin, Lermontov and Krylov. Valeriy Bryusov lovingly translated the works of many Armenian poems and epics. A number of talented translations of "Prince in Tiger Skin" by Rustaveli are available to the Russian readers. The history of domestic



culture has preserved high examples of personal and professional friendship between Pushkin and Mickiewicz, Griboyedov and Aleksandr Chavchavadze, Shevchenko and Chernyshevskiy, Dobrolyubov and Nekrasov; of Mikael Nalbandyn, the Armenian revolutionary democrat, with Hertzen and Ogarev; and of the Kazakh educator Chokan Valikhanov with Chernyshevskiy.

Numerous such cases are known. Under the conditions of a class-antagonistic society, however, the process of cultural rapprochement among nations was hindered and applied only to a relatively small circle of democratic elements of national cultures.

It was only the Great October Revolution, the successes in building socialism, the establishment of a single Marxist-Leninist outlook and the cultural revolution which made possible the elimination of the previous alienation among nations and nationalities in our country and the establishment of cultures socialist in content and national in form in all nations in the USSR and of unbreakable relations among fraternal cultures and their reciprocal enrichment and spiritual unification.

Although created in a variety of national forms and in many languages, Soviet culture remains one in terms of ideological and aesthetic program, imbued with a spirit of consistent internationalism. Nevertheless, it should not be considered in a metaphysically simplistic way as a certain conglomerate, a mechanical sum total of the cultures of different nations. Soviet culture is characterized by a dialectical unity between the common (the international) and the specific (the national). Such dialectics reflect the objective trend of rapprochement among socialist nations. "The blossoming of nations and nationalities," Comrade M.S. Gorbachev said in the report "The Immortal Exploit of the Soviet People," "is organically combined with their comprehensive closeness. A feeling of belonging to a single family--the Soviet people, as a new and historically unparalleled social and international community, has penetrated deeply into the minds and hearts of all people."

Metaphorically speaking, our culture could be compared to a powerful tree with a vast broad corona and a variety of flowers and multicolored fruits. It has a single Soviet socialist stem and a single democratic popular root system.

We justifiably believe that at the present stage in the development of our society the interconnection and reciprocal enrichment among socialist cultures are broader and more comprehensive than ever before. What determines this pleasing phenomena?

Above all, the fact that the Communist Party is consistently implementing in all realms of life--economic, political, social and cultural--the Leninist national policy based on the principles of equality among all nations and nationalities and their free development within a voluntary fraternal alliance. The binding force of this alliance is a Marxist-Leninist outlook as a single ideological platform.

Their wealth and blossoming contribute to the strengthening of ties among socialist cultures. Today all of our republics have a developed culture based on a firm material foundation. In the past the population of many national

outlying areas did not know the meaning of legitimate theater, ballet, opera or motion picture. Muslim religious dogmas forbid the peoples of Central Asia to engage in many types of graphic and musical arts. Today national socialist cultures have assumed a structure covering all aspects of the spiritual life of contemporary society. The republics have developed their own national creative intelligentsia; the best of their works of art are the common property of the peoples of the country. Their spiritual intercourse greatly contributes to the steadily rising educational and cultural standards of the population. A desire for culture and art has become an organic feature of the Soviet way of life.

The beneficial process of reciprocal exchange and influence allows national cultures to avoid ossification and to change, improve and reciprocally convert, abandoning everything that is obsolete and conflicting with the new conditions of life.

The Russian language has become an important factor in strengthening the sociopolitical and ideological unity of the Soviet people, the development and reciprocal enrichment of their national cultures and their exposure to the wealth of world civilization.

The October Revolution, which broke the chains of the autocratic prison of the peoples, contributed to the renaissance and development of national languages which had been banned and totally denigrated by the tsarist authorities. The joint revolutionary-transforming activities of the liberated peoples and struggle against class enemies of all hues and the building of socialism led to the acceptance by millions of people of the Russian language as a means of international communications. The party and soviet bodies encouraged in a fine and delicate manner both trends: the development of national languages and the mastery of Russian.

In artistically expressing this line, on the 10th anniversary of the October Revolution, Vladimir Mayakovskiy wrote:

For those who are naked and without a language  
Make use  
Of the freedom of the Soviet system.  
Seek your root  
And your verb  
And enter the darkness of philology.

We find in the same poem lines which have now become classical:

Had I been  
A negro of advanced years,  
Without slouching and with optimism  
I would have studied Russian  
For the sole reason  
That it was the language  
Which Lenin spoke.

Today, as the CPSU Central Committee decree on the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR notes, Lenin's language is fluently spoken by 82 percent of the country's population.

The fact that tremendous spiritual values and, above all, the great Russian literature, were created in this language was an exceptionally important feature in its development as a means of international intercourse. This artistic wealth could not have been mastered and the development of national cultures would have been impossible without knowledge of the Russian language. It was only with its help that the national cultures were able to emerge on the all-union forum of Soviet art, gain access to world classics and works by foreign masters of the arts and acquire their own readership abroad.

Many masters of national culture expressed warmly and eloquently their gratitude to the Russian language. Here is what Daghestani writer Effendi Kapiyev said about it: "Oh great Russian language! ...Born helpless and belonging to a very small tribe, lost in the mountains, I have acquired you and I am no longer an orphan. Oh, how powerful, how bright and warm is your element! ...Without you there neither was nor is there a future and with you we are truly omnipotent."

In speaking of the role of the Russian language in international intercourse, we must not conceal the fact that this has its dark sides as well. There have been cases of belittling the Russian language and artificially limiting the realm of its utilization. By no means has the teaching of Russian been organized on the proper level. It is of great importance that the draft new edition of the CPSU program emphasizes the fact that "mastering the Russian language, in addition to their own language, voluntarily adopted by the Soviet people as a means of international communications, broadens access to the achievements of science and technology and to domestic and world culture."

Unquestionably, the links between Russian culture and the cultures of the other peoples of the USSR are not one-sided. Russian culture and Russian socialist culture are also being steadily enriched through such interaction. This process, which was less noticeable during the first years of the cultural revolution, is obvious today when the gap in the cultural levels of the fraternal has been filled.

Multinational Soviet Russia infinitely values fraternal relations with the peoples of the other union republics and is grateful to them for the opportunity of gaining extensive access to the treasury of their national cultures. Like a single circulatory system, our close cultural ties disseminate everywhere the vivifying flows which multiply the creative possibilities of all nations.

Today more than 100 ethnic groups inhabit the Russian Federation. Russian statehood unites in a fraternal alliance 16 autonomous republics, 5 autonomous oblasts and 10 autonomous okrugs.

Soviet Russia has a great cultural potential. In 1984 the republic had some 63,000 public libraries containing more than 1 billion books, more than 77,000 clubs, 336 professional theaters, more than 84,000 sets of movie projection

facilities and 945 museums. Movie attendance totaled 2.1 billion people and more than 75 million people attended performances in professional theaters; the RSFSR has 57 publishing houses and all autonomous republics within it have their own. Every year thousands of different books, pamphlets and albums are published, in a total of more than 700 million copies.

The cultural potential of each of the autonomous republics and oblasts in our federation is significant. Whatever indicator we may choose would invariably prove that today no ethnic group in our country is backward and deprived of education and culture.

Particularly eloquent in this sense is the fate of the small ethnic groups in the North. Before the great October Revolution they led a pitiful existence, living in a state of poverty and ignorance. "Civilization reached the North primarily in the shape of vodka, forced conversion to Christianity and previously unknown diseases. All of this led to ruination and degeneracy.

The October Revolution, the Leninist national policy and the friendship among the peoples, born of the new system, rescued the North from the threat of extinction. Socialism rescued not only them but their ethnicity, exposed them to new forms of economy and material culture and revived them spiritually. The treasury of the country's culture and art became accessible to them along with their own original culture, which was carefully preserved and restored.

It is of interest to note that for many decades the tsarist government exiled its political enemies to these cold and harsh areas: the Decembrists and revolutionary democrats, the Narodovoltsy and the Marxists-Leninists. It was precisely from their midst that emerged the first students of the history and culture of the peoples of the North and the teachers, instructors and educators of the population in this area. The places to which the exiled revolutionaries were sent became oases of culture, on the basis of which the Soviet system undertook the socialist reorganization of the North.

The peoples of the North confidently advanced toward socialism. They acquired statehood, literacy and alphabets and raised their national intelligentsia. Enjoying not only union-wide but international fame are the writers Yuriy Rytkheu, Yuvan Shestalov, Grigoriy Khodzher, Semen Kurelov and Vladimir Sangi, the Uelen bone carvers and the professional Ergyron and Mengo ensembles.

Fruitful fraternal contacts among national cultures are an inseparable feature of our Soviet reality. They take place among union republics and within them steadily and in most varied aspects.

There is no republic, whether union or autonomous, whose representatives have not visited Moscow and Russia. Let us particularly emphasize the great role played by Moscow in international cultural exchanges. The capital of the Soviet Union and the RSFSR invariably initiates friendly ties with the peoples of the country. Moscow's hospitality, warmth, concern and attention are universally known and valued.

Many are the great Russian cities which deserve major credit in cultural exchanges: Leningrad, the cradle of the October Revolution; Ulyanovsk,

Vladimir Ilich Lenin's birthplace; Volgograd and other hero-cities, the capitals of autonomous republics and the large industrial and cultural centers, such as Sverdlovsk, Gorkiy, Chelyabinsk, Perm, Novosibirsk, Rostov-na-Donu, Krasnoyarsk, Khabarovsk and others.

The creative unions and societies are making a great contribution to organizing the interaction and reciprocal enrichment among our socialist cultures. Various activities sponsored by the USSR Writers' Union have become an extensive part of our ideological and artistic practices. Almost always meetings with readers or specific discussions at writers' meetings are international, taking into consideration the nature of the participants and of the creative problems under discussion.

The unions of composers, painters and architects of the USSR and the RSFSR, the All-Union Theater Society and the theater societies of union republics display multinational art through their own means, very successfully, invariably triggering the deep interest of audiences.

The USSR Ministry of Culture and the local cultural bodies are making their contribution to the process of internationalist upbringing through their exhibits, contests and seminars in the various arts, systematically organized together with the creative associations.

Literature and art days are one of the popular forms of intercourse. In recent years the RSFSR has sponsored days of the Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Kazakh, Armenian and Georgian union republics. In turn, masters of the arts of the Russian Federation have been the guests of the Ukraine, Moldavia, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Estonia, Kazakhstan, Armenia and Georgia. The 325th anniversary of the reunification of the Ukraine with Russia, the sesquicentennial of the unification of Armenia with Russia, the 250th anniversary of the unification of Kazakhstan with Russia and the 200th anniversary of fraternity and friendship between Russia and Georgia were vividly celebrated.

Close cultural contacts are maintained between all autonomous republics and oblasts in the Russian Federation. In recent years, days of literature and art of Bashkiriya, Buryatiya, Daghestan, Kabardino-Balkariya, Kalmykiya, Karelia and the Komi ASSR, the Mari ASSR, Mordoviya, North Osetiya, Tatariya, Tuva, Udmurtiya, Checheno-Ingushetiya, Chuvashiya, Yakutiya and Karachayevo-Cherkessiya have been celebrated in Moscow. Also properly noted have been anniversaries and other outstanding events in the life of autonomous republics, oblasts and okrugs. On each such occasion, days of literature and the arts mark the next and frequently quite significant step forward in strengthening cultural relations and formulating new plans and developing new forms of study of reciprocal accomplishments.

The Soviet part of the cultural program presented at the 12th World Youth and Student Festival in Moscow, at which 20,000 members of all-union and autonomous republics performed, provided an impressive example of the achievements of Soviet multinational and multiple-genre amateur and professional art.

Mass performances and exhibits of paintings, graphic art, sculpture, decorative-applied art and photography, displayed in the cultural exhibition complexes of each of the union republics, described in detail and convincingly to the festival's guests the life of the peoples of the land of the soviets and the unbreakable friendship among them.

The participants in the festival, both Soviet and foreign, showed tremendous interest in the performances of folklore groups and ensembles. This proves again the need for further development of such forms of original folk art.

Naturally, this is not merely a question of anniversary celebrations, holidays and festivals. The latter are merely the peaks in the chain of steady creative contacts and daily efforts to promote their expansion and intensification. The optimal combination of these two areas is the key to success and the true way leading to strengthening permanent friendly and personal contacts among creative collectives and artists, thus contributing to the fruitfulness of all our arts.

The theaters in Soviet Russia are doing a great deal to strengthen international relations. They engage in a serious dialogue with the multi-million audiences in more than 30 languages. For a long time an essential factor which has influenced theatrical life in our republic and throughout the country has been the work of noted collectives such as the Bashkir Academic Drama Theater imeni M. Gafur, the North Osetian Drama Theater, the Tatar Academic Theater imeni G. Kamal, the Daghestan Theater, the Buryat Academic Drama Theater imeni Kh. Namsarayev, the Checheno-Ingush Drama Theater imeni Kh. Nuradilov and many others.

Creative contacts among theater workers in fraternal republics play a major role in the development and reciprocal enrichment of national theater cultures. This involves reciprocal performances, exchange of stage setting brigades and participation of leading actors in performances of other collectives. For example, of late shows have been staged in Moscow by noted directors such as the Estonian M. Mikiver, the Kazakh A. Mambetov, the Bashkir R. Israfilov and the Lithuanian Yu. Miltinis.

The All-Russian Drama and Theater Art Festival is of great importance in the dissemination of the best achievements in playwriting and stage art of the peoples in the country and the creative growth of artistic collectives and the enhancement of the skill of national playwrights. Initiated in Russia in 1969, it then became a union-wide project. In the first such festival more than 100 collectives performed 55 works by authors from union and autonomous republics; in the fourth, which took place in 1982, within the framework of the all-union festival, all drama theaters in the RSFSR participated, submitting to the judgment of the public and the juries more than 600 performances based on 230 works by national authors. The 1984-1985 theater repertory in Soviet Russia included more than 470 performances based on 240 works by national authors. There is no theater collective in the republic which does not stage plays by authors from union or autonomous republics.

Music has significantly developed in the autonomous republics of the Russian Federation. In this connection, the highest possible rating should be given



to the internationalist efforts of the collective of the State Academic Bolshoy Theater of the USSR, which has earned the fame of active propagandist of the achievements of Soviet multinational music and good instructor and strict judge of representatives of all music schools in the country.

Many of the musical activities organized in the Russian Federation have become international events. Thus, collectives and performers from all-union republics, including the Transcarpathian Folk Choir, the Bakhor Uzbek Dance Ensemble and the Verasy Belorussian Ensemble were welcome guests at the "Mainline Lights BAM Festival." Russian artistic collectives and performers, in turn, regularly participate in festivals organized in union republics, such as "Kiev Spring," "Crimean Dawn," "Mertsishor" (Moldavia), "Melodies of the Soviet Transcaucasus," "Tashkent Golden Autumn" and others.

The graphic art of Soviet Russia is a many-colored multinational mosaic. It has inherited and is increasing the great traditions of the great masters of the past--nationality, profound interest in the life of the common man and attention to people of all nationalities.

Soviet reality has awakened to creative work and nurtured many artistic talents. In 1984 we solemnly celebrated the centennial of the Akademicheskaya Dacha Creativity Club, whose creators included Repin, Kuindzhi and Rerikh. It was there, on Kalinin soil, that the creative career of many painters from national outlying areas began, in close contact with outstanding Russian painters. Today all autonomous republics, oblasts and okrugs have their acknowledged masters of the graphic arts, who are members of one of the leading detachments of Soviet art--the RSFSR Union of Painters.

"Soviet Russia," the 7th republic painting exhibit, became a creative report to the 27th CPSU Congress. Encompassing the best works of the 11 preceding zonal exhibits, it extensively displayed the wealth and variety of Russian painting. It was pleasing to note that side by side with noted masters from Moscow and Leningrad, the voice of painters from all autonomous republics was confidently heard at the exhibit. Their works covered the most topical and important topics of our time in a variety of genres.

Each nation has and honors its national holies, such as memorial sites, artistic masterpieces, and relics of "triumphs and troubles of the people," of the distant and not so distant past. Historical and cultural monuments, as we describe them somewhat dryly, are the embodiment of the spiritual strength of ours and of our predecessors. They include the Kremlin and Red Square in Moscow, the Mednyy Knight, Smolnyy and the legendary "Aurora" cruiser in Leningrad, the monument to the 26th Baku commissars in the capital of Azerbaijan, and the great memorials in Brest, Volgograd and Novorossiysk. They include the Sofiyskiy Cathedral and the Museum of the Great Patriotic War in Kiev, Svetitskhoveli and Dzhvari in Georgia, the Trakaya complex in Lithuania, the architectural ensembles of Samarkand, the "Golden Ring" masterpieces in Russia, and the Matenadaran manuscripts in Armenia. They also include heroic epics such as the ancient tales and the "Lay of the Host of Igor," "David Sasunskiy," "Alpamysh," "Mamiraniai," "Manas" and "Kalevala." All of these are our shared objects of pride.

If properly cared for, memorial sites, which carry the fragrance of the past, enable us to feel our involvement with history and to sharpen our feeling for the homeland and responsibility to its past, present and future.

In recent years we have noted greater popular interest in history and in the heroic accomplishments of our fathers and grandfathers. The Soviet people are increasingly trying to visit historical sites and to see our heroes. This was particularly manifested during the period of celebration of the 40th anniversary of victory in the Great Patriotic War. This life-bringing splash of patriotic feelings has a clearly expressed international nature. The war heroes, the dead and the living, were celebrated everywhere, "from Moscow to the most distant places." Mass meetings in Moscow as well as at the Glory Burial Site where three republics--the Ukraine, Belorussia and Russia meet--in Bryansk Oblast, and in partisan preserves, where Latvia, Belorussia and Pskov Oblast touch, and where Russians, Letts and Belorussians fought the fascists hand in hand, have already become traditional.

Problems of the preservation of monuments and their restoration have long gone beyond the realm of interest of historians, architects and art experts and have emerged on the broad social forum. It was no accident that the draft Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period Until the Year 2000 sets, among the many other topical problems, the task of "actively work for the preservation and multiplication of the national cultural legacy and for the protection of monuments of domestic and world history and culture."

One of the specific ways for the implementation of this stipulation is by unifying the efforts of all republics and undertaking a broad exchange of experience acquired in the restoration of historical and cultural monuments. Many examples of such fruitful cooperation could be cited.

By the turn of the century the medieval monuments of Tashkent, Bukhara and Samarkand lay in ruins. The extensive help of Russian specialists was needed to restore them, under the Soviet system. The age old traditions of Central Asian architecture were combined with the achievements of contemporary science. Scientists from Moscow and Leningrad participated in the project. Together with Uzbek masters our specialists learned the secrets of the technology applied by the ancient masters and, in turn, developed methods and skills which were subsequently successfully used in restoring the mosaics of many architectural works in Soviet Russia.

We are studying and applying the experience of restoration workers in the Ukraine, the Baltic republics, Georgia and Armenia. Unquestionably, we shall increase our joint efforts and energize the exchange of experience and fraternal mutual aid in our future efforts to restore and use the monuments of history and culture for the communist upbringing of the working people.

Naturally, spiritual reciprocal enrichment does not take place exclusively in the realm of contacts between people and art but also in the course of their labor interaction. Convincing examples of this may be seen everywhere, in each union republic, in the Nonchernozem, in the largest construction projects in Central Asia and, particularly, in the construction projects in Siberia and

the Far East. The people who have come here from all parts of the country work and live in multinational collectives. It is here that they take their labor examinations, gain a social status and become internationally educated. As the bearers of the culture of their people, in the course of daily contacts they become acquainted with the traditions, customs and mores of members of other nationalities and with their culture and arts, and make new friends.

Here is one more example. The city of Noyabrsk may not be found in all maps. In the course of its 3 year-old life it has become one of the centers for the development of the petroleum and natural gas resources in the northern part of Tyumen Oblast. Together, shoulder to shoulder with the local population, construction workers from the Ukraine and Latvia, drilling workers from Belorussia, Tatariya and Bashkiriya, and Komsomol detachments from Azerbaijan and Estonia are at work. They are united not only by joint labor but also by joint recreation. Together they spend the Russian winter, hold Ukrainian evening gatherings, and celebrate Ligo, the Latvian national holiday. In the summer evenings, by the bonfires, Russian melodies interweave with Georgian chants; the sounds of the Kazakh dombra second the Moldavian naya and the Ukrainian gopak yields to the Daghestani lezginka. All amateur artistic collectives are multinational. In addition to Russians, the Russian song choir includes Ukrainians, Belorussians and Tatars; the Ukrainian choir includes Russians, Belorussians, Tatars and Bashkirs.

We see it as our task for this Siberian school for international upbringing to work successfully and effectively, for a unified socialist community to develop in the course of the labor and spiritual contacts among members of different nationalities, and for the human factor discussed at the April and October CPSU Central Committee Plenums, Comrade M. S. Gorbachev's speeches in Tyumen and Tselinograd and the programmatic party documents, be energized.

Energizing the human factor is inconceivable without the support of literature and the arts. That is why the draft new edition of the CPSU program, in formulating the tasks in the area of cultural construction, notes that the party will comprehensively promote the enhanced role of literature and art, which must "serve the interests of the people and the cause of communism, be a source of joy and inspiration to millions of people, express their will, feelings and thoughts, and actively assist in their ideological enrichment and moral upbringing." It would be accurate and just to emphasize in this subdivision the possibilities of literature and art in the internationalist upbringing and the further strengthening of the spiritual unity of our people.

This paragraph could read as follows: "They must serve the interests of the people and the cause of communism, as a source of joy and inspiration for millions of people, expressing their will, feelings and thoughts and actively contributing to their ideological enrichment and internationalist and moral upbringing."

The friendship among the peoples of the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries is the great accomplishment of our age. It visibly depicts the bright future of the peoples who are now struggling for social liberation and national independence.

In his time, Rudyard Kipling, the famous English writer, who had done a great deal to whitewash the sinister colonial undertakings of British imperialism, voiced the following sacramental phrase: "Oh, west is west and east is east and never the twain shall meet..."

This was a poetic presentation of an old idea. Many Western historians and philosophers have justified the policy of expansion and colonialism with such Eurocentrist views.

However, Kipling's formula is alive to this day in its new interpretations in the kind of world in which imperialist reaction is trying to preserve and even strengthen its positions, where racial hatred is preached and the inhuman laws of apartheid and genocide applied. It is precisely this that we gather from news coming out of Latin America, South Africa, Lebanon and the United States itself. It is precisely this that is confirmed by the subversive activities of the CIA in Afghanistan, India, the Middle East and many other countries.

To this day, bourgeois ideologues and "Sovietologists" of all hues, ranging from all possible hostile "voices" to clever means of "mass" bourgeois culture, are making efforts to break up our common home and to try to destroy or at least to weaken the monolithic unity of the Soviet people. "In its efforts to weaken the international solidarity of the working people," the draft new edition of the CPSU program notes, "imperialism is promoting and provoking national egotism, chauvinism and racism, and scorn for the rights and interests of other peoples and their national cultural-historical heritage." Although aware of the strategic hopelessness of such efforts, we must remain vigilant and skillfully pit against such efforts the powerful weapon of socialist ideology and the systematic and creative implementation of the Leninist national policy.

Metaphorically speaking, West and East have left their age-old places and converged toward one another in our country. For the first time in the history of mankind the socialist world embodies in reality the age-old dream of the fraternity of peoples in which, as the great Pushkin said, "Peoples, somewhat forgetting their quarrels, will rally in one great family."

We know that the national problem, as it was left to us by the exploiting system, has been resolved in our country definitively and irreversibly. However, this does not mean that the question of relations among nations has been dropped from our agenda. "The CPSU proceeds from the fact," the new edition of the party program stipulates, "that new tasks related to perfecting national relations legitimately arise in the process of the joint working life of more than 100 nations and nationalities." The party sets as one of its programmatic targets in this area the task of persistently seeing to it that feelings of friendship and fraternity, which unite all nations and nationalities in the USSR, high culture, international intercourse, intolerance of manifestations of nationalism, chauvinism, national exclusivity and national egotism and customs and mores which hinder the communist renovation of life and man, become inherent in every Soviet person."

In advancing toward the 27th CPSU Congress, the workers in culture and the arts see it as their sacred duty comprehensively to contribute their active

efforts to the further development of the single culture of the Soviet people, socialist in content, varied in national forms and international in spirit, on the basis of the best accomplishments and original progressive traditions of the peoples of the USSR and to contribute to the rapprochement and reciprocal enrichment among national cultures and the strengthening of ties among them, offering the Soviet people increasing opportunities for exposure to anything valuable created by the talent of all nations in our country.

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## TIME DEMANDS AND MEMORY OBLIGATES

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[Article by O. Kuprin]

[Text] A break was announced at the Volgograd city party conference. The accountability commission went to prepare the ballots. A screen was dropped in front of the presidium table, the lights went off and the showing of a motion picture began. It was "Rebirth," a film made 20 years ago, which many of the delegates had seen several times.

To me this old documentary was a premiere. It was an exciting and rather complex premiere, which awakened thoughts about what I had heard in the gorkom's businesslike, critical and self-critical accountability report, delivered by V.A. Kochetov, its first secretary, and the sharp speeches by the delegates, and what I had seen in the few days I had spent in this city on the eve of the conference.

This movie, which had been made 20 years ago, took viewers back another 20 years. It dealt with a single year in the nearly 400-year old history of the city: the time between the Springs of 1943 and 1944. The first year after the end of the battle for Stalingrad. The wreckage of the unconquered fortress on the Volga. Nearly 42,000 destroyed houses. All 126 enterprises in ruins. Stone blocks lumped with twisted steel and who knows what else. The sappers were able to finish their work only in 1945. They located and disarmed about 1.5 million unexploded mines, bombs and shells over an area of 135,500 hectares.

This old documentary triggered many thoughts. Much of what was said at the conference could be taken as a report of the party members of the 1980s to the generation of the winners, to those who had rebuilt from the ashes this world-famous city.

Based on the results of the 1983 and 1984 all-union socialist competition, Volgograd received the Red Challenge Banners of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee. It has repeatedly won first place in the republic competition for best urban landscaping and hygiene.



Its volume of industrial output has increased substantially. Four-fifths of its absolute growth was achieved through higher labor productivity. A comprehensive program is being implemented for reducing manual labor, combined with the certification and increased efficiency of work places, which has made it possible to release about 9,000 people since the beginning of the 5-year plan. Significant savings of various types of material and energy resources have been achieved, and outlays and production costs of industrial output have been reduced.

In the last 2 years capital assets worth 796 million rubles have been installed, and more than 13,000 comfortable apartments, 11 children's combines, new schools and health care, trade, public catering and consumer and communal service projects have been completed.

More help is being given to the rural working people. The production of Fregat spraying units and of block-comprehensive high pressure pumping stations has been mastered. One hundred forty kilometers of power cables have been laid and more than 1,000 apartment units in garden-type houses have been built on a sponsorship basis.

The wages of the working people have increased and so have public consumption funds. Social insurance and medical services to the population have improved. A struggle for a sober way of life has been mounted.

Briefly, the communist of the 1980s have something to report to the heroes of the 1940s.

The film "Rebirth" organically blended with the proceedings of the 28th city party conference. It was like a summation triggering an amazingly sharp feeling of time continuity. History came alive in each act discussed by the delegates, in each current success or failure, as though it was present and was silently looking at contemporary Volgograd with its strict appraising glance.

#### 'Volgar' Enters the 5-Year Plan

The pregress documents--the draft new edition of the CPSU program, amendments in the party bylaws, and the Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period Until the Year 2000--were the focal point of the conference of Volgograd party members. The accountability report of the party gorkom and all speeches without exception dealt with the main topics of the pregress discussion--the concepts of accelerating the socioeconomic development of the country, problems of further production intensification and scientific and technical progress, implementation of the party's social policy and perfecting organizational-party and ideological work. The delegates expressed their full support of the party's strategic course aimed at the qualitative reorganization of Soviet society. As a rule, accomplishments were assessed soberly and exigently; shortcomings were analyzed and problems exceeding city limits were raised; discussions were frank and criticism dealt with substance.

Both the speaker and those who participated in the debates frequently turned to the materials of the April and October 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenums and the CPSU Central Committee conferences on problems of accelerated scientific and technical progress. Volgograd is a major industrial center in the country, for which reason here one can see quite clearly and specifically the achievements of the entire Soviet economy and the negative phenomena presently inherent. Little was said at the conference about achievements; the discussions dealt essentially with shortcomings, difficulties and unresolved problems. There were greater discussions of problems of construction, as was the case in that distant war year described in the film. Now, after the report and the discussions, it was as though the past and the present had come together and made the problems under discussion even sharper.

The minutes of the 15 April 1943 party committee session at the Krasnyy Oktyabr Plant show that between 2 February and 10 April 22 premises (not described as houses) totaling 1,004 square meters, had been rebuilt. At that time anything rebuilt was estimated to the 10th of a meter. No such close estimate of destructions was needed, for they totaled 500,000 square meters of housing. A dozen more or a hundred less were useless details.

A rather round figure was cited at the present conference: 380,000 square meters. This was the amount of housing that the construction workers had pledged to complete in 1985. The fact that these obligations will be met no one attending the conference doubted. However, no satisfaction was felt. The construction workers were criticized by M. P. Krikovtsev, fitter at the locomotive engines depot of the Station imeni M. Gorkiy, V. I. Atopov, city executive committee chairman, V. P. Ivlev, shipyard director, and other delegates.

N. I. Zharov, head of an assembly brigade at Volgogradzhilgrazhdanstroy, addressed the conference. He discussed essentially shortcomings: the fact that drops in labor productivity in various brigades have reached 20 percent, that it is time to enhance the role of fines for contractual violations and that essential changes must be made in planning. How long, the speaker asked, will the construction workers keep on assuming socialist obligations without an annual program? Such is frequently the case. When, finally, will the plan no longer be amended in the course of the year? This too happens.

The brigade leader's questions were not answered by V.F. Kadykov, deputy chief of Glavnizhnevolzhskstroy, of which Volgogradzhilgrazhdanstroy is a part, who spoke after him. He confirmed, however, that the situation of the construction workers is not brilliant: only one of the 7 trusts working in the city was able to meet its planned indicators for the growth of labor productivity.

Two delegates to the conference, both of them construction workers, watched during the break the way their colleagues had dedicatedly worked during that distant 1943. Then too there had been problems and difficulties. However, the attitude toward them had been quite different.

New approaches are needed to ensure a sharp turn toward economic intensification. The question, as formulated in the gorkom report was: What does this require? Above all, find and utilize, without delay all reserves

for upgrading production efficiency and quality of output. Upgrade the level of mechanization and automation of production processes and reduce the share of manual labor. Science must take a sharp turn toward the needs of production and production toward science. When the discussion turned to the urgent need for the reconstruction of all the production facilities, the first speaker named three plants: the tractor plant, the motors plant and Krasnyy Oktyabr; he listed among the priority tasks the manufacturing of the Volgar and the retooling of the rolled metal production facility at Krasnyy Oktyabr.

The conference delegates included V. M. Babakov, party committee secretary of the Volgograd Tractors Plant imeni F. E. Dzerzhinskiy and N. Sh. Ordzhonikidze, director of the Krasnyy Oktyabr Plant. I met with them on the eve of the congress and visited both enterprises.

V. M. Babakov is concerned about Volgar, the new power-saturated caterpillar tractor. Its technical features are significantly better than those of its predecessors. It would take a long time to enumerate its advantages. Let me list a few: it ranks among the best in the world in fuel expenditures and superior to them in many others. It almost doubles labor productivity in farming operations. It offers improved labor conditions. The efficiency of its engine is used to a maximal extent and it is fuel-efficient.

Experimental Volgar prototypes are already being tested in different parts of the country. The plant will undertake the industrial manufacturing of the new model during the first year of the 5-year plan. The plant's collective has pledged to deliver the first industrial batch of Volgar tractors by the time of the inauguration of the 27th CPSU Congress. However....

"The required capacities for the production of the Volgar are being developed slowly," V.M. Babakov said from the rostrum of the city party conference.

This was put mildly, quite mildly, for the speaker focused his main attention of another equally important problem. This too should be explained.

In order to produce new models this year, strictly in accordance with technological requirements, 38 automatic lines must be installed at the plant. However, this will not take place. The plans of the machine tool builders turned out not to have been coordinated with the state assignment issued to the Volgograd tractor manufacturers.

After producing its first tractor in 1930, it took a long time for the plant to reach the projected level because of incomplete procurements of basic technological equipment. The plant was let down by American companies with which it had placed orders. But who is to blame for the present situation, which is as stressed as at the motor plant (which is scheduled to produce the engine for the Volgar tractor)? This was discussed at the city party conference by Ye. V. Pleva, head of a comprehensive brigade at the plant and laureate of the USSR State Prize. There as well it is a question of undelivered equipment.

An alarming situation is developing. Will the old story be repeated? Will there be a delay with the Volgar?

"Yes, all of this already happened in 1930 and in the 1960s, when the plant was being reconstructed," said the party committee secretary as though reading my mind. "These lessons have not been forgotten. We have experience. We know who must do what. The party committee is called upon to mobilize the collective for the implementation of the state assignment. It must give scope to creative initiative and look for unusual solutions."

Bitter experience has taught the tractor builders to look for alternative technologies. In other words, they must look for means of doing themselves the job which should have been done with the help of the undelivered 38 automatic lines. Practical experience indicates the need to adapt to this situation will affect other shops and other machine tools. Naturally, labor intensiveness will increase and also naturally the people will sweat to ensure proper quality and, to this effect, carry out additional operations. The need for the plant to develop its own machine-tool building facility is not excluded. In a word, the plant intends to fulfill the state assignment and to complete, on time for the opening of the 27th CPSU Congress, the first industrial batch of Volgar tractors. However, as V.M. Babakov said, this will require much sweat and stress. This was the tenor of his speech.

Briefly, his main thought and mood can be described as follows: intensive work is needed. Superintensive work is undesirable. However, since this has become necessary, everyone should assume a certain share of such supertension. What the party committee secretary had in mind above all was the use of science. Volgograd has sectorial scientific research institutes. Unquestionably, agricultural machine building has its bottlenecks, such as procurements. Naturally, plans have been drafted on precisely this subject. However, if a plant assumes a superstressed task, why would a neighboring institute (or institutes) under the same department not participate in the joint effort and increase its contribution to the development of the Volgar?

"The Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development," V.M. Babakov said at the conference, "stipulate a substantial improvement in the level and, please note, sectorial scientific efficiency and the strengthening of scientific contribution to plants."

The reconstruction plan includes the installation of computers worth 20 million rubles. In the past 5 years no single neighboring scientific research institute has resolved any plant problem related to automated control systems.

The tractor plant party committee secretary did not analyze the reasons for this situation at the conference. To a certain extent this was done by A.I. Polovinkin, rector of the polytechnical institute. He said:

"Our outlays for the development and application of scientific achievements are lower compared to many other cities. Although they are not stressed, the plans for the installation of new equipment are not being fulfilled. In this respect the exigency of the gorkom toward enterprise leaders has been weakened."

A.D. Molchanov, secretary of the oblast trade union council, also cited figures which gave food for thought: the number of inventions registered in

the city is 80 percent of the total for the oblast but savings from their application are less than 40 percent.

Such is the practical manifestation of the problem of combining science with production. This example of a large progressive enterprise proves the exceptional relevance of the party's task of expanding and strengthening the use of science in plant work.

#### Sharp Corners in Reconstruction

Were we to make a study of everything said at the Volgograd city party conference and single out the most frequently used word, in all likelihood one of the first would be "reconstruction." This word was mentioned with pride concern, hope, alarm and optimism.

Here is S.N. Parygin Komsomol gorkom first secretary:

"Reconstruction means not only the restructuring of shops and sections but also of the attitude toward the jobs. The Komsomol is sponsoring the development of robot technology and other modern equipment. There are 20 comprehensive creative youth collectives. However, we are still not satisfied."

The speakers referred to the materials of the October 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, emphasizing that today the party is stressing above all technical retooling and the reconstruction of existing enterprises.

Reconstruction problems were suitably discussed in the gorkom accountability report as well. It was pointed out, in particular, that main production capital is being updated too slowly. A considerable percentage of fixed assets is morally obsolete or severely worn out; the level of mechanization and automation of production processes is rising sluggishly and the share of manual labor remains high.

It was perhaps N.Sh. Ordzhonikidze, Krasnyy Oktyabr director, who was mostly affected by this part of the report. For the past 15 years the plant has been unable to fulfill its plan. Reasons included the shortcomings which became apparent in our economy at the beginning of the 1970s and which were daringly and clearly diagnosed at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. However, this was also due to specific reasons of a unique nature. A single example will show the degree of their uniqueness.

A quite modern looking machine tool which, among others, is used to machine nothing other than steel for bearings, is powered to this day by a steam engine made by a Franco-Belgian company in 1898. Once some Frenchmen visited the plant. They saw their product in the rolling shop and respectfully doffed their hats.

How is it that such an antique has been preserved in a plant famous for its high-grade steel? The answer is simple, and I heard the same answer not only at the Krasnyy Oktyabr Plant: starting with 1943 the restoration of the city's industry was based on wartime standards. This meant quickly and with

all available means, i.e., using anything that could be rescued from the hundreds of thousands of tons of twisted metal, repair it hastily and make adaptations.

The steam engine was repaired and put to work. No one doffs his hat at the machine, for the general wish is to see this "Frenchy" (or "Belgian") replaced by something more worthy of today's scientific and technical revolution. This is the Volgograd illustration of the clearly formulated party task of doubling the scrapping of obsolete capital assets in the immediate future, their working parts in particular.

N.Sh. Ordzhonikidze, closely listened to the speeches of the delegates. Over and over again they spoke of reconstruction. To the Krasnyy Oktyabr director this meant the past, present and future rolled into one. The present is encouraging: for the first time in 15 years the plant will fulfill its annual plan. Better than the others, the director was aware of what was behind this pleasing fact. He was aware of the effort of the collective and the problems.

V.I. Kalashnikov, Volgograd CPSU Obkom first secretary, pointed out the following at the fourth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th convocation, last November:

"I must frankly say that the people showed to us the way to improve plant indicators faster than did some ministries."

This fully applies to Krasnyy Oktyabr. It is above all the plant's collective that deserves credit for the fact that for the first time in 15 years the plant will make a breakthrough.

The following situation has developed: the capacity of the steel smelting facility at the plant was roughly consistent with that of the rolling mills. However, the large-sections mill, which includes the blooming mill, which is the hallway between these two production facilities, is hopelessly obsolete. The opening is too narrow. That is why some of the Krasnyy Oktyabr steel had to shipped to other metallurgical plants which shipped back to Krasnyy Oktyabr semifinished parts. In other words, the circuitous way which the plant took to avoid its narrow entranceways was many hundreds of kilometers long.

Ten years ago the ministry drafted a plan for the reconstruction of this shop. Its implementation was postponed. Another solution was adopted: to build a new powerful section-rolling mill. The mill is still under construction. The mood of the Krasnyy Oktyabr personnel was by no means optimistic, for there were no prospects of a breakthrough, with all the moral and material consequences of this fact. They could not rely on the construction workers, for they obviously were unable to crack such a tough nut as the blooming mill, which meant that they had to do the work themselves. Uralmash, their old friend, which manufactures blooming mills, was unable to help this famous plant in the city-hero, on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the victory.

The accountability report submitted by the party gorkom reads: "In order to implement everything planned, in addition to increasing the potential of contracting organizations, full use must be made of the possibility of doing



the work either alone or with the help of a contractor. The Krasnyy Oktyabr Plant has gained such experience with the reconstruction of the blooming mill."

The reconstruction took place in two stages. The work of the blooming mill was interrupted only twice for 26 and 20 days respectively. Preparatory operations were carried out without stopping the mill. It was precisely thus, "while the work went on," that the new roof for the shop, which was substantially higher than the old, was laid.

The work reached its peak last summer. In terms of stress, tension and dedication of the people, it resembled the battles of 1942, which had been fought at this very spot. The intensiveness of the work is confirmed by the following data: in 20 days construction and installation work worth 2.5 million rubles was completed at the "number five" shop installation, 60 meters long and 18 meters wide. This bordered the impossible! Furthermore, one week after the reconstruction was completed, the new blooming mill reached planned capacity.

The director refuses to acknowledge the economic results, for the figures cited by the economists seem excessively high and, for the time being, very rough. What is precisely known is that the reconstruction will increase the blooming mill's handling capacity by 100,000 tons of metal per year. Fuel economy for heating the metal remains to be computed. Although pleasant, this is no urgent project. What mattered above all was that the plant solved the problem. The mood at the plant has become entirely different. In numbered days the blooming reeducated all the sceptics and the pessimists and turned around the people's mentality. The current mood at Krasnyy Oktyabr can be expressed by one of the most popular statements at the plant: "Now things will be better!"

However, the blooming mill created a number of problems as well. The reconstruction is only gathering speed but its sharp corners are already apparent. We know that at high speed any slowing down is felt more clearly. It is becoming quite clear now that it is the designers who are slowing down the work. They have failed to consider an excessive number of features and specific fine points. Planning at such an old and narrow plant, which was built in the 19th Century, should be as accurate as cutting a diamond. That is why the production workers have had to rework the designs. Would it not be better to involve them in the designing in the first place? Would it not be better to strengthen and expand the design organization's branch at the plant and to let the plant handle the installation and specialized subcontracting organizations? A powerful design-installation-construction force should be set up precisely for the reconstruction period, in the same way that during the war an all-army force was given all the striking facilities it needed for the period of an important strategic breakthrough. We believe that such a military comparison to be fully justified, the more so since it is a question of a plant which the fascists could not take, a front line plant.

## From Prototypes to Standards

The Volgograd party and economic aktiv met to discuss the course of the implementation of the reform of general education and vocational schools precisely 1 month before the conference. The discussion was principle-minded and sharp and, according to its participants, useful. That is why the gorkom accountability report dealt briefly with the reform. Many of the speakers, however, ranging from workers to the raykom party secretary, turned, again and again, to this important event in the country's life. The discussion covered not only the vocational training of new workers but also education in the family, preschool institutions, problems of governmental importance and local difficulties. In particular, V.P. Ulitina, puncher at the shoe factory, justifiably blamed the city and rayon executive committees for lack of coordination in scheduling the work of enterprises and children's institutions, and the slow application of progressive sales methods, as a result of which, after working a shift, one is forced to work a second shift by waiting in line at the stores.

There are in Volgograd places where one could find out how to implement the reform. I can assert, as B.F. Mayorov, head of the rayon education department, said, that school No 110 in Kirovskiy Rayon "has fully implemented the reform." In this school the children are specializing in electrical engineering. I found 7th and 8th graders at work in the well equipped machine-tool shop. Sixth graders were engaged in assembling the stator of an electric motor. Younger children were making protective screening for birds. Such items are set on the poles of high tension cables. This involved both industry and concern for their feathered friends. In a word, all children in school No 110, from the youngest to the oldest, were involved in productive work. Their output is included in the plan of the plant and their operations are necessary links in the technological production chain. In that same Kirovskiy Rayon, experimentally for the time being, several first graders have been involved in productive labor. The length of their "work day" is between 15 and 20 minutes. Most zealously and with a feeling of responsibility, they are stuffing in polyethylene bags instructions on the use of various items.

The rayon has a well organized training-production combine. There as well the children not only acquire work habits but fulfill enterprise orders. The combine's annual output totals 130,000-150,000 rubles. It trains school children in 12 different skills, based on the needs of the rayon's enterprises. The enterprises themselves (unfortunately, not all of them) reciprocate: they assign their best specialists as instructors at school No 110 and the rayon combine.

It is thus that the reform has completed the stage of the search of means and methods for involving children in productive toil. The examples cited here prove this quite convincingly. However, the delegates attending the city party conference were not in a conciliatory mood, for very good reasons.

Let us demonstrate this again with school No 110. In a display of political maturity and considering the current usual scarcity of workers, the administration and party organization of the Spetsenergoremont Enterprise

assigned to school 110 four of its best foremen (truly the best!). This is a permanent assignment, although they are still considered plant personnel.

The successes of the Kirov Training-Production Combine are largely explained by the equally informal attitude on the part of the Khimprom Association, which assigned 14 of its best specialists to work with the school students. Understandably, therefore, G.M. Chechuy, instrument controller at the association, dedicated a great part of her speech at the city party conference to student vocational guidance.

That same Kirovskiy Rayon, however, also includes school No 100, which by no means meets the requirements of the reform. Teachers from other training and production combines and other rayons come to Kirovskiy Rayon to take a look and are disturbed by comparing their own routine with the rayon's organization and technical facilities.

It was precisely this that led city conference delegate V.N. Kartapolova, teacher at school No 48, to say that involving students in productive and socially useful labor is inadmissibly slow. Many economic managers feel that reform is a protracted matter and that there is no need to hurry with it. Training shops and sections have been organized in no more than 20 Volgograd enterprises. Voroshilovskiy Rayon, represented precisely by V.N. Kartapolova, lacks even a single one.

Such a cool attitude toward the reform displayed by some economic managers has created within them a strange disease described as "unjustified expectations." They expect school graduates with good professional training but assign to the schools obsolete equipment, some of which has been simply written off. What kind of vocational training standards could we have?" V.N. Kartapolova asked, addressing herself above all to the party organizations of enterprises and the party raykoms and gorkom.

The reform has started and is underway. The people know what to do and how to do it. We do not have to travel far to find valuable experience. Valuable experience may be found in the neighboring city rayon, plant or school. Good examples exist. Now it is a question of turning them into the rule, the standard.

The Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period Until the Year 2000 emphasized the need to create conditions enabling every secondary school graduate to master one of the most common skills. Let us particularly emphasize the word "every." Judging by the Volgograd experience and the speeches of the conference delegates, the successful completion of the reform today largely depends on the stance taken by economic managers and the extent to which they will accept thoroughly and specifically the requirements of the school reform as a party and political assignment and as their personal duty to the future of the country.

A great deal in the film "Rebirth" is about children. The snow is still on the ground and in the hulls of the wrecked homes, virtually under open skies, 10-year old boys and girls, wearing their mother's shawl or patched little coats and too-large padded jackets are already sitting behind miraculously

spared school desks. Before the war, at that time, the school year was drawing to an end. Now it is only beginning. In the Autumn of 1943 11,600 students went to school in Stalingrad. They had no more than 2,000 desk behind which they could sit.

In the course of the few days of my Volgograd assignment, including the time spent at the party conference, I had the opportunity to meet with the heads of big enterprises and with senior party workers. I noticed that they were all roughly in the same age group--50 or slightly older. It was they and their coevals who had hurried to their classrooms in 1943 or 1944, in premises without windows and roofs, in villages and cities recaptured from the occupation forces only recently. Now, older and graying, the movie was taking them back to their hard and bitter childhood. In Volgograd it was precisely they who assured me that everything will be in order with the reform and who opposed shortcomings in this matter more fiercely than younger people. They were unwilling to speak of successes, for there was nothing worth boasting about, they claimed, these being merely the first steps.

From the Biography of a Lagging Rayon

I arrived in Volgograd's Krasnoarmeyskiy Rayon 2 days before the city party conference. This is the city's largest and most distant rayon: the odometer registered 37 kilometers from the center to the party raykom. To continue with the adjective "most," let us add that the largest industrial potential is concentrated in this rayon and that in terms of basic indicators of the fulfillment of the annual and the 5-year plans it is last in the city and that the first raykom party secretary here is the very young A.V. Panasenko.

I found him engaged in a difficult occupation. The secretary was preparing his speech for the conference. A report had to be submitted to the Volgograd party members. Let me anticipate by saying that the report he submitted was honest, principle-minded and self-critical, as befits a communist who rates his own actions and the cause for which he is personally responsible to the party.

Krasnoarmeyskiy Rayon fell behind because two of its largest enterprises--the Kaustik Association and the Oil Refinery--failed to fulfill their plans. Major shortcomings in the placement of leading cadres were one of the main reasons for this. Although no one could deny the accomplishments of the former heads of the Kaustik Association, just like people their management methods had become obsolete, which is something not immediately noticeable.

For a long time the raykom and gorkom tried to determine what was the matter, making their way through real and fictitious "objective" reasons and "accidental" failures. They helped, penalized and kept hoping on and on....

S.Ye. Krylov, Volgograd CPSU Obkom second secretary, was to say at the city party conference that

"The purpose of management is not an ability to explain shortcomings but to surmount difficulties and implement assignments."

The speeches of many delegates confirmed a rather simple truth: goodness and tolerance are needed in worldly affairs. After important party decisions have been made, however, as a rule they are poor helpers.

We learn this also from previous experience. Historians found in the files a decree issued by the Stalingrad city party committee, dated 13 February 1943. Here is an excerpt: "Anyone guilty of cowardice and faint-heartedness, who did not fight the occupation powers for the homeland, shall be expelled from the ranks of the VKP(b) as having nothing in common with the Bolshevik Party. The question of party members, who are managers of enterprises and establishments, and who abandoned their posts during difficult times and, panicking, ran deep inside the country, must be considered as well."

Today the managers are in their positions and do not run away in panic, and cases of their cowardice and faint-heartedness, (although isolated, numbered) are not so noticeable, for they are not manifested in such extreme situations and are displayed not toward the homeland but, let us say, the new equipment. However, this is what the attitude toward the homeland is today and exigency toward party members must remain strict at all times.

Both the gorkom accountability report and the debates indicated that the city party organization is trying firmly to follow the Leninist traditions, although, truthfully, it is not always successful. Examples were cited at the conference. Here is one: The head of the oblast executive committee UKS [Capital Construction Administration] was twice taken to the sobering-station, for which he was strictly reprimanded by the Central CPSU Raykom, with a record his file. However, he was not removed from his position.

But let us go back to the current problems of Krasnoarmeyskiy Rayon. How are they being resolved and what are the prospects?

New cadres were appointed. A.V. Panasenکو asked the gorkom to make a comprehensive survey of the Krasnoarmeyskiy Raykom. This was a method introduced by the party gorkom shortly before that. It was as follows:

Most of all, this is no investigation, audit or inspection, but a study. One after another, all gorkom departments visit the rayon and make a thorough study of the situation in their field. Should omissions be found, recommendations are issued for their correction, drawing on the experience of other city raykoms. Such an approach allows the gorkom to borrow the best from any party organization in Volgograd. This enables any gorkom official to give competent advice and to know where to look for information. Based on the results of such analytical work, the raykom holds a conference with the personnel, attended by the secretaries of the bigger party committees. Usually, the conference is chaired by the first gorkom secretary. The results of the comprehensive study are reported, and followed by active discussion. A comprehensive study such as this takes between 1 and 1.5 months. It is made possible only thanks to major changes in the work style of the gorkom itself. The necessary time for this was found as a result of the use of coordinated work plans by party and social organizations, by reducing the number of participants and the length of the conferences, holding many of the meetings during nonworking time, eliminating formalism and paper shuffling, etc. By no



means has everything been accomplished and not everything is well-organized. For example, conference delegate A.V. Aparina, first secretary of the Tsentralny CPSU Raykom, pointed out that the gorkom has poorly organized the follow-up of critical remarks and suggestions expressed at previous meetings.

Such a comprehensive study was made in Krasnoarmeyskiy Rayon and is already yielding positive results, which are becoming substantial, it seemed to me, thanks to the inordinate energy of the raykom's first secretary. In concluding his speech at the conference, he assured the Volgograd party members that Krasnoarmeyskiy Rayon will rebuild its reputation. This was stated firmly, with conviction.

A.V. Panasenko submitted a suggestion concerning some essential problems of party work. He sharply criticized the railroad workers and suggested that a joint party-economic management authority be set up in the rayon.

As someone with economic management training, A.V. Panasenko undertakes the solution of any problem with enthusiasm. As a new man on the job, he could have perhaps tolerated references to "objective" difficulties and be misled by them. However, the principles of party leadership of state and public organizations, reflected in the draft amendments to the CPSU bylaws, do not allow any mixing of functions. As was emphasized at the October 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the party guidance of activities of state and public organizations must be of a clearly indicated political nature, actively contributing to the further development of socialist self-management by the people in all units and on all levels.

The need for a psychological restructuring of economic managers was repeatedly discussed at the Volgograd conference. However, the party personnel themselves need major psychological restructuring. The city party committee report clearly indicated the inadmissibility of mixing the functions of party bodies with those of state and public organizations. However, it was also asserted that the gorkom buro and its departments and the party raykoms and primary organizations must, above all, undertake to deal more energetically with the basic retooling of enterprises.... The question, is how to do it.

Apparently the answer to this question is by no means clear to everyone.

Let us be frank: a psychological restructuring is a complex process, perhaps more so in the case of party workers. Sometimes it becomes rather difficult to withstand the pressure of urgent problems and the strong urge is to resolve them immediately through the use of power alone. Occasionally, the direct intervention of the party committee in production matters becomes necessary. This is largely the result of imperfections in our economic mechanisms. However, quite frequently the party organization which becomes involved in such matters and takes over from the economic managers, loses track of politically very important problems which do not involve large sums of money and are not included in directives.

The construction workers were justifiably criticized at the conference. Several important projects were not completed. One of the worst was the building of a hospital for disabled Great Patriotic War veterans.... and this



was in Volgograd, in the Hero City, on the 40th anniversary of the victory. It was proper to mention this to the party members in the city, honestly and with bitterness. It was proper that no one justified or explained himself by citing "objective" difficulties. I found out, after the conference that the CPSU Gorkom had assumed special supervision over the building of the hospital.

The rebuilding of this legendary city on the Volga was taken up by the entire country starting with the Spring of 1943. At that time thousands of volunteers came to the city. Construction materials and equipment for the reconstructed plants arrived. On the eve of the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the great victory, for a period of 6 months, the people of Volgograd appealed to all union republics to participate in the reconstruction of stores and coffee shops, giving them a local color. No one refused. The suggestion was considered a responsible and honorary assignment. By 9 May the people of Volgograd were presented with splendid gifts. They were described in the accountability report alongside with the gifts which the people of Volgograd themselves had offered to their own city on the occasion of the great anniversary: the opening of the "Battle of Stalingrad" panoramic museum, the start-up of the first section of a fast streetcar line and the opening of the oblast library....

Gathered for their city conference, the Volgograd party members spoke of the present and the future and of matters that excited everyone: they spoke of essentially new approaches to the development of the economy, the new 5-year plan, which will accelerate our entire national economy, the solution of social problems, the shaping of the new person and the assertion of the socialist way of life.

The conference was businesslike, mobilizing and critically sharp. Like any other conference it had something unique. Here, in the legendary city, one could particularly feel the continuity of the basic principles governing our life, party policy and its continuity in its Leninist understanding, as the mandatory mastery of past experience, steady progress, identification and resolution of new problems and elimination of anything obstructing progress. On the eve of the 27th CPSU Congress, which will adopt documents of programmatic importance, our thoughts and concerns are turned to the future. The heroic past lives in our memory not only as an object of veneration and pride but also as a stern judge of our present actions, plans and projects.

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ON THE NEW DRAFT CPSU PROGRAM AND BASIC DIRECTIONS IN THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE USSR FOR 1986-1990 AND THE PERIOD UP TO THE YEAR 2000

FOR A NEW AND PROGRESSIVE INSTRUMENT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 86 (signed to press 2 Jan 86) pp 76-77

[Article by B. Danilov, templet turner, inventor]

[Text] As an instrument maker with 40 years experience in work on the development of new instruments for machine builders, I clearly remember the words expressed at the CPSU Central Committee conference on problems of acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the fact that metal continues to be scarce in the country, while we make poor use of ceramics and other progressive nonmetallic materials.

For the past several years I have considered the development of inexpensive, wear- and corrosion-proof measuring tools for mass use. Currently millions of such piece of expensive steel alloys are being manufactured every year. With the help of my plant comrades I was able to develop a technology for the manufacturing of ceramic measuring instruments. They have proven their excellent qualities in the plant's machine shops. In 1985 such instruments were exhibited at the USSR Exhibitions of Achievements of the National Economy, at the Machine Building Stand. The new instruments, painted in an unusual red color, are wear-proof, lightweight corrosion-proof and antimagnetic. One would think that they would become most widespread. However, their use was hindered with the "assistance" of the All-Union Scientific Measurements Institute, which placed a number of barriers in their way.

The directives pertaining to the 10th and 11th 5-year plans indicated that conditions must be created for inventions to be put to practical use more quickly. Over the past 10 years, however, hundreds of valuable inventions, which could have saved many millions of rubles, have been shelved.

The new draft Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR call once again for "the creation of all the necessary conditions for the fastest possible utilization of inventions...." It is perhaps necessary to mention such conditions in more specific terms, for all inventors know that currently the results of the work of plants and scientific research institutes are rated on the basis of indicators which frequently make the use of new developments unprofitable, hindering the implementation of their plans and deprive them of bonuses and other benefits. In some cases heads of plants and

scientific research institutes ignore the requirements of technical progress. By following the old ways they avoid trouble and calmly wait for their pensions. It seems to me that the indicators which were formulated decades ago should be revised. The Basic Directions should mention the need for such revision. Only then could one hope for the successful utilization of inventions yielding tremendous economic benefits.

I was also interested in the stipulation concerning machine-tool building and the instruments industry, for it states that "...the production of highly efficient cutting tools with non-sharpening blades, made of hard alloys and metal ceramics, with wear-proof multiple coating, must be tripled or quadrupled."

Such blades have been produced in our country for several decades and more than enough may be found at metal cutting machine-tools. Why quadruple their output? Why waste scarce and expensive tungsten for their manufacturing?

It seems to me that instead it would be useful to increase the production of all possible varieties of diamond cutting tools, which are more efficient and less expensive than tungsten. Our production of industrial diamonds is quite high, for which reason we could manufacture as many tools as are needed without difficulty.

Obviously, the stipulation I mentioned should include an item on increasing the share of tools using diamonds, not only for cutting but also spinning, planing and broaching tools.

Here is another remark. Perhaps we should solve the problem of converting plant instrument shops from "auxiliary" to "basic." This would reinforce the severely thinned ranks of instrument workers. Young people today are unwilling to become instrument makers for the process is long and hard and wages are half those paid at basic plant shops which use the tools manufactured by such "auxiliary" workers. Training in a machine shop takes 6 months and the salaries are higher than those of instrument makers with 20 years experience.

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## BROADENING THE RANGE OF LABOR INCENTIVES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 86 (signed to press 2 Jan 86) p 77

[Article by R. Orlov, docent at the Moscow Water Reclamation Institute, candidate of philosophical sciences]

[Text] We know that under socialism, unlike the higher communist phase, labor is, above all, a means of subsistence. As such, it requires material (and moral) incentives. The means used for such incentive today, under the conditions of the economic experiment and the conversion to new economic management methods, are becoming varied and more refined.

We believe, however, that encouraging the growth of labor productivity and production quality by offering a variety of benefits (differentiations in the levels of individual consumption), as a leading form of material incentive, directly based on the law of distribution according to labor, is not the exclusive manifestation of this law.

The scientific and technical revolution, which enhances the creative intellectual content of labor, provides the most important foundation for the fuller utilization of the possibilities inherent in the national ownership of means of production and the essence of socialist production relations, and the need for turning labor activities into a direct area of manifestation and development of all physical and spiritual needs and capabilities of the person and into a prime vital need of associated workers. However, this means that, while remaining a means of subsistence and a source of various goods for personal consumption, as has already been pointed out in our philosophical and economic publications, including KOMMUNIST, labor also becomes "self-seeking" and "self-stimulating." In other words, individual incentive is extended to the labor process as such.

The need for labor may be satisfied only by enhancing its objective conditions and means. This applies, for example, to providing the worker with a better machine tool, a scientific collective with a modern laboratory and a production association with the latest equipment.

Unfortunately, the reserves related to labor incentive and improvements in labor means and conditions are still being used quite insufficiently. We believe that it is necessary to put the general communist principles of the

work of collectives and their personnel on the service of the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development.

I suggest that Section 2 of Part 2 of the draft new edition of the CPSU program include in the subsection on "Perfecting Socialist Production Relations and the System of Management and Economic Management Methods" the following ending to the paragraph on distribution relations: "The excellent work of labor collectives and individual citizens must be encouraged by providing them with better labor conditions and means."

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## FAMILY AND UPBRINGING

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 86 (signed to press 2 Jan 86) pp 77-78

[Article by A. Muzyrya, deputy editor-in-chief of the journal SOVETSKAYA ZHENSCHINA]

[Text] The draft new edition of the CPSU program pays proper attention to the problems of the Soviet family. It is precisely in a morally healthy family, with a politically proper outlook on events in the Soviet state and abroad, that the future citizen acquires his initial understanding of his social duty. The educational system provides professional knowledge. The Komsomol lays the foundations of political knowledge, and involves the person in social work. The labor collective advances the collectivistic principles of the person. However, the person's "readiness" for "high quality action" or, conversely, for antisocial actions is largely shaped in the family. Blunders in social forms of upbringing, shortcomings in political education and disbelief in propaganda are manifested above all in people whose education was neglected "at the start." It is precisely a question of neglect, for how otherwise to explain the fact that immoral actions are occasionally committed by young people raised in a communist family.

The draft stipulates that the CPSU deems it necessary to pursue a line of strengthening the family and upgrading the responsibility of parents for the education of their children. A great deal is being done and planned to base this stipulation on real and firm foundations. Above all, conditions are being created for women successfully to combine their obligations as mothers and housewives with labor and social activities. The various types of state aid for bearing children and for large families and support of single mothers are proof of the real concern shown by the Soviet state for women, whose sacred duty to mankind is to give birth and raise children and prepare them to serve the homeland. Today we welcome the steps which were taken in this area by the Soviet government during the 11th Five-Year Plan and those planned for the 12th. However, the extent of their usefulness, timeliness and efficiency will be determined in the years to come. Progressive methods for organizing the work of women with children (work at home, work based on a sliding schedule, half-time work) have already been experimentally tested at enterprises in various industrial sectors. Their economic expediency and acceptability for women have been proven. The special conditions provided by



the party and the government, which enable mothers to upgrade their skills or gain new ones are directly benefiting the national economy.

During the 11th Five-Year Plan family recreation as well was given tangible support by the state. The working people now expect of the next 5-year plan the quantitative and qualitative development of the system of boarding and recreation houses. Boarding houses are needed not simply for the joint recreation of minimal-income families, offering them a roof over their heads and food. Boarding and recreation houses are needed in which to spend their paid leave, saturated with cultural and sports activities and offering all opportunities for joint creative occupation by parents and children.

Yet, back from our paid leave, do we lose the need for spending comfortable and creatively saturated and pleasant time for recreation with our children? Regrettably, attractive though they are, families hobby clubs, family workshops and family sports clubs remain infrequent in our country. Perhaps something about broadening the network of family hobby clubs in residential areas should be included in the draft traditional stipulation of "broadening the network of Pioneer, labor and sports camps, Pioneer clubs and clubs and stations for scientific-technical and artistic creativity."

The draft new edition of the CPSU program proves that the party will continue to do a great deal to strengthen the family and to help the Soviet people in the harmonious upbringing of their children. Obviously, however, we must also formulate stricter demands toward those who will implement this party line--all party members--for the experience in the raising of children in one's family is the best proof that everyone of us is fulfilling his party and civic duty.

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## RICH SOURCE OF EXPERIENCE AND INSPIRATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 86 (signed to press 2 Jan 86) pp 78-80

[Article by Jaroslav Kase, editor-in-chief of the journal NOVA MYSL (Czechoslovakia)]

[Text] The draft new edition of the CPSU program has met with the most lively response and exceptional interest in the party and the broad public circles in Czechoslovakia. This is confirmed by the accountability meetings which are taking place on the eve of our party's 17th Congress: the draft is being studied in the party education system. Our mass information media are providing extensive coverage of the CPSU documents.

The reason for this tremendous attention is the fact that we are increasingly realizing the commonality of CPCZ and CPSU interests and that many of the questions raised in the document have a great deal in common with problems which we are resolving or will be resolving in the immediate future.

The high reputation of the CPSU policy and of its new document is explained, above all, by the fact that they are based on the firm foundations of science and provide convincing answers to topical present and future problems. The Czechoslovak communists, and myself personally, are impressed by the loyalty to Marxism-Leninism shown in the draft of the new edition of the CPSU program and its principle-minded and creative application under contemporary conditions and its realism and practicality, i.e., all that makes this program the firm and dynamic foundation for the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU and the theory of Marxism-Leninism a reliable binding link and ideological guidance in the struggle for strengthening the unity of the international communist and worker movements and for peace and in defense of the vital interests of the working people, for national independence, democracy and socialism.

Our party members and the public at large value the sober view taken in the CPSU documents on the level of development reached by Soviet society and the absence of excessive details and unjustified anticipation or definition juggling; they value the fact that these documents open to society broad prospects. They greatly appreciate the parts discussing the ways and means for achieving set objectives and means of ensuring the optimal utilization of all opportunities offered by socialism at the present stage of development,

indicating the type of tools and incentives which can energize the human factor and accelerate the advanced socialist society.

All of our ideological workers are showing great interest in the description of the socialist society built in the Soviet Union, something which is of universal, of international significance. The draft defines it as a society of true democracy and real human rights and freedoms. It is a society of humane Marxist-Leninist ideology and progressive science and culture; a society in which a socialist way of life is being shaped, based on social justice, collectivism and comradely mutual aid. It is a society whose thoughts and actions in international policy are in the interests of peace, freedom and independence of nations and countries and social progress. Let us note, as a whole, the convincing and mobilizing impact of the formulations in the draft in which we find an inexhaustible wealth of ideas for our own work.

The draft of the document not only provides a general description of the place and role of the economy in the progress of Soviet society but also indicates the main levers for accelerating its development: intensification based on scientific and technical progress and reconstruction of the national economy on the basis of the utilization of the latest achievements of science and technology. All of this will make it possible substantially to upgrade the dynamism and volume and quality of output. One of the features of the draft, which, in this connection, exceptionally inspire our own editorial collective is the attention which the document pays to the specific dialectics of production forces and production relations, distribution relations and the tasks and ways of labor socialization and the reconstruction of the economic mechanism, particularly within the framework of the Leninist planning and management principles.

I use this occasion to emphasize the democratic and human nature of CPSU economic strategy. Our people consider them as strengthening the trend of expanding the participation of the working people in economic management and in the sense that the basic principle of economic development is the profound humane idea: everything for the sake of man and for the good of man. In reading and studying the draft new edition of the program, we in Czechoslovakia pay particular attention to the way it treats the question of the human factor. The new CPSU document describes man as the objective and prerequisite for the successful implementation of planned strategy. It is thus that socialist humanism acquires a real, a specific historical foundation and content related to the dialectics of production forces and production relations, economic management and enhancement of the activeness, autonomy and responsibility of labor collectives.

Our editorial collective systematically follows the development of the political system of Soviet society, and I can say that we report this to our readers objectively and thoroughly. In this connection, I would like to make a few remarks and mention what it is that our citizens find of the greatest interest in the CPSU document. This pertains above all to the creative application of the Leninist concept of socialist democracy. It is a live and effective implementation of Lenin's idea that the cause of socialism is, above all, the making of the masses themselves. At this point I would like particularly to emphasize the importance of the concept of the socialist self-

management of the people. From the methodological viewpoint, our editors find very valuable formulations which describe the need for the ever fuller development of the democratic and all-national nature of the Soviet state and features which clearly characterize differences between the content of party leadership and state administration.

As the theoretical and political journal of the CPCZ Central Committee, NOVA MYSL deals extensively with ideological upbringing, education, science and culture. That is why our attention was drawn to the following features in the document: first, the systematic Leninist approach taken to the study of problems; second, its close links with the real tasks which faced the economy, politics and culture; third, the planned orientation toward the person, which can be characterized overall as a process of shaping a harmonious developing personality, which presumes the dialectical unity among spiritual wealth, moral purity and physical health.

Our readers show a lively interest in problems of international politics. Naturally, we describe in our journal the manner in which such problems are interpreted in the document. The words "a world without wars and without weapons is the ideal of socialism" are not a mere phrase to our people. The working people, the young people in our country warmly support the peaceable foreign policy of the Soviet Union. At the same time, they well understand the significance of Lenin's instruction that socialism must defend itself against the danger of imperialist aggression.

We also highly value the fact that the CPSU considers itself an organic structural component of the international communist movement and regards its activities aimed at perfecting Soviet society and advancing toward communism a most important international task.

We rate the new draft of the CPSU program as proof of the further development of Marxism-Leninism at the present stage and as a source of ideas which inspire our party in the building of a developed socialist society in Czechoslovakia.

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## FOR CREATIVE BUILDING AND PEACE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 86 (signed to press 2 Jan 86) p 80

[Article by Stefan Angelov, professor, doctor of philosophical sciences, corresponding member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences]

[Text] All people on earth who care for peace, freedom and creation are showing great interest in the draft new edition of the CPSU program. This is explained by the fact that the draft accurately reflects the present and future needs of the land of the soviets and the correlation of progressive and reactionary and revolutionary and counterrevolutionary forces in the international arena and the interests of peace, democracy and socialism.

The intensified creative approach of the CPSU is manifested most clearly in those resolutions which relate to perfecting socialist society, which has entered its mature stage, by means of an accelerated socioeconomic advance, the application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, the resolution of imminent social problems, the creation of favorable conditions for the manifestation of the human factor in various fields of life, the establishment of true self-management by the people and the spiritual and physical development of the builder of communism.

Marxism proves that society is not a random assembly of individuals but an integral system. From the viewpoint of the laws of social development, however, this integral system could develop proportionally and harmoniously only under the conditions of a communist system. So far, this law has operated not in absolute terms but as a dominating trend in the course of which aspects of disproportion, spontaneity and unevenness may occasionally intensify. Some of them are caused by objective reasons while others are the result of subjective factors. Currently the objective social prerequisites for the interrelated synchronous development of all subsystems within the socialist society are gradually maturing in their complexity and comprehensiveness. The historical possibility of the harmonious functioning of real socialism is based on the readiness and ability of the subjective factor to recognize promptly and accurately the laws governing social development and efficiently to resolve imminent social problems. All of this is identified in the draft new edition of the CPSU program, thanks to its emphasized realism, continuity and innovative approach to the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory and party policy.

This analysis is particularly topical in connection with the problem of the criterion for judging the maturity of socialism. After a certain period of theoretical discussions, the viewpoint established in the document is that essentially, such a criterion must be comprehensive. This is based on the requirement of enhancing the national economy on the basis of an essentially new scientific and technical and organizational-economic level, switching it to the track of intensive development and achieving a higher social labor productivity compared with all preceding systems. It is no accident in the least that here it is a question of a new dynamics of contradictions in the course of which their manifestation and solution result in surmounting previously unavoidable historical disparities. The program increasingly asserts the idea of the historical balancing, integrity and dynamism of social processes under socialism, in which concern for the person is achieved through concern for the entire society and the concern for society through concern for the individual. This precisely is the essential meaning of the CPSU program, which is to be a document of real humanism.

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## ON CONTRADICTIONS IN CONTEMPORARY CAPITALISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 86 (signed to press 2 Jan 86) p 81

[Article by N. Zagladin, docent of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences]

[Text] The study of imperialist contradictions is extensively analyzed in the draft new edition of the CPSU program, a document which synthesizes the achievements of Marxist-Leninist theory in the study of contemporary global problems. The document convincingly proves that neither the mastery of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution nor attempts to adapt to the new historical conditions or the utilization of the entire arsenal of means of state-monopoly control can rescue capitalism from an intensifying general crisis. As noted in the draft, "the dialectics of development is such that the very means used by capitalism to strengthen its positions inevitably lead to the aggravation of all of its profound contradictions."

Today they are part of the explosive system of interacting contradictions (socioeconomic, political, ideological and other, technological and ecological in particular), manifested both within individual countries and on the scale of the entire capitalist world.

The mechanism of interaction among imperialist contradictions is such that any attempts at easing some of them trigger a chain reaction which leads to even greater upheavals, crashing against an obstacle insurmountable under capitalist conditions, that of the private ownership of means of production and the orientation of the entire economy toward earning the highest possible profits.

Considering that it is becoming increasingly harder to find solutions which would even temporarily energize capitalist structures and mechanisms, imperialism is increasingly resorting to the different tactic of resolving its problem at the expense of the basic and vital interests of the working people in capitalist countries and the peoples of the liberated countries. It is particularly relying on militarism and on suppressing democratic and anti-imperialist forces through its military-political apparatus. Nevertheless, in the final account, the course of social revenge, violence and repressions weakens imperialism.

First of all, imperialism is no longer able to resolve problems which intensify antagonisms. The impossibility of opposing the natural course of

history even with the help of total force was indicated by the collapse of fascist Germany.

Secondly, violence, which replaces the solution of social problems, inevitably triggers a counteraction, which gives all contradictions within capitalism a particularly grave nature.

Thirdly, the path of restraining changes which have become ripe in many countries by force, threatens mankind with the greatest possible catastrophes under the conditions of the nuclear age. By following the path of militarization, imperialism clearly proves that the interest of preserving the power and influence of a handful of a monopolistic elite is placed higher than the lives of billions of people. Militarism, the draft new edition of the CPSU program emphasizes, is a "convincing proof of the political and sociomoral groundlessness of the capitalist system."

The unrestrained growth of militarism and reliance on force in international relations objectively deepen the antagonism between imperialism and the overwhelming majority of the earth's population. Something of equal importance is that it aggravates contradictions within the imperialist camp itself, among its different bourgeois factions. The moderate faction, which is not directly related to the military-industrial complex, increasingly realizing the futility of efforts to resolve the historical dispute between capitalism and socialism through arms, is trying to avoid in the international arena actions fraught with unpredictable consequences and is ready to show realism whenever its interests are not directly threatened. Many soberly thinking bourgeois political leaders and scientists note with concern the aggravation of all global contemporary problems.

It is entirely obvious that differences within the bourgeois camp at the present stage of historical development assume great political significance and that taking them into consideration is an important prerequisite for the successful activities of progressive, democratic and antiwar forces.

It would be expedient, in this connection, for the CPSU program particularly to single out this contradiction and to include in Section 2, Part 1 of the draft a paragraph which would characterize the growing potential of the forces of peace, to read as follows: "The sober consideration of the real correlation of forces leads to an understanding of the danger of the continuation and expansion of the arms race by a number of state and political leaders in capitalist countries. The policy pursued by the most reactionary and aggressive forces of imperialism is creating growing opposition even within the bourgeois camp. An influential wing of the bourgeoisie, unrelated to the military-industrial complex, is opposing this course and showing a tendency to display realism in politics and a growing readiness to accept the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations between countries belonging to the two global social systems."

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## ON CHANGES IN THE CPSU STATUTES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 86 (signed to press 2 Jan 86) p 82-84

[Letters to KOMMUNIST from CPSU members]

[Text] The draft statutes of the CPSU (with suggested amendments) reflects new approaches in all party work, currently dictated by the stricter requirements concerning the level of party management. Further expansion of intraparty democracy, development of the initiative and activeness of party members and increasing the responsibility for the outcome of common projects, constitute the essential meaning of the suggested amendments to the party statutes. Representing the creative development of Lenin's theory on the Communist Party, they will unquestionably have a stimulating influence on the development of the topical problems of the theory and practice of party construction.

Thus, for example, the draft amendments to the statutes call for considering democratic centralism the leading principle not only in the party's organizational structure as is the case in current CPSU statutes, but also of its entire life and activities. Such a characterization of democratic centralism broadens its realm of action and allows us more profoundly to evaluate its significance in terms of the party's growing leading role.

The introduction of new categories unquestionably enriches the science of the party and strengthens its methodological foundations. It is important, from this viewpoint, to make entirely consistent with Lenin's requirements the statutory regulation on the primary party organizations. The current statutes and draft bylaw changes characterize the primary organizations as the foundations of the party. In the 50 years of its existence in the party code, this characterization has become so customary and appears so unquestionable that the very formulation of the question of its imperfection may seem groundless. Nevertheless, it truly needs to be refined.

We know that until 1934 the primary party organizations, which were then known as party cells, were considered the foundation of the party organizations. The concept of "foundations of party organization" was replaced with that of "foundations of the party" at the 17th VKP(b) Congress. This objectively confirmed the identical nature of these concepts. However, this, precisely, is not the case. Lenin emphasized that the party is an organization which

represents an organized entity, the organized unity of people. As an organization, it has its own foundations, principles and standards codified in the statutes. However, the concept of "party" may not be reduced to that of "organization." It is broader. The party is not only the organized but the conscious, the advanced detachment of the working class. It is not only the organizational but the ideological community, the ideological integrity and ideological and political unity of the people. "The most important source of its strength and invincibility," the draft new edition of the CPSU program notes, "is found in the inviolable ideological and organizational unity of the party."

I consider theoretically erroneous the simple substitution of the concept of "party organization" with that of "party," which took place when party cells were renamed into primary organization. That is why the characterization of primary organizations as the foundations of the party needs, in my view, to be refined. The primary organizations are the foundations of the organizational structure of the party or, which is one and the same, the party's organizational foundations. It is precisely this that must be reflected in the CPSU statutes.

The concept that "the primary party organization is the foundation of the party's organizational structure" and the stipulation that "the primary party organization is the party's organizational foundation" are more accurate from the viewpoint of Lenin's theory of the party and can have a stimulating impact on its further development in the light of the laws and developments prospects of Soviet society and the ways and means of attaining the final objective--communism--expressed in the draft new edition of the CPSU program.

Signed: V. Bykov, CPSU member since 1945, candidate of historical sciences, docent, Moscow

I consider it important to insert the following demand between Paragraphs 3 and 4 of the draft of the amendments of CPSU statutes: "Putting state or social positions to mercenary use is incompatible with the title of communist." This should be included in the party code as a foundation for purging the party from philistines and petit bourgeois, who use the party merely as a means of attaining their personal objectives. The statutes should clearly stipulate that there is no place in the party for such people.

Signed: V. Vinogradov, CPSU member since 1963, docent, Riga

Paragraph 12 of the draft amendments to CPSU statutes defines the responsibility borne by party members for violating Soviet laws. I consider this formulation of the problem insufficiently precise. In addition to the violators of party and criminal responsibility, individuals, officials in particular, who have recommended the delinquent for one position or another, who have contributed to his official promotion, who have comprehensively supported him and protected him from criticism and from the investigation of committed delinquencies, should be held equally liable.

I suggest that in Paragraph 12, after the phrase "individuals who have committed actions subject to criminal punishment, must be expelled from CPSU

ranks," the following be added: "together with them, individuals who have actively or passively contributed to the violation of Soviet laws be made answerable to the party."

My second suggestion applies to party members who have retired and are not employed anywhere. The CPSU statutes should "legitimize" their special status in the party. To this effect, the following should be included in Paragraph 52: "The primary party organizations will pay maximal attention to nonworking aged party members and assist in every possible way their participation in party and social life."

Signed: V. Pasternak, CPSU member since 1956, Moscow Oblast

I suggest as a basis for discussion, that the text of Paragraph 40 be amended in such a way that the holding of all-union party conferences be made mandatory between congresses, as was the case under Lenin. If necessary, such conferences could be convened even more frequently but in such cases on the basis of a special CPSU Central Committee resolution.

Signed: I. Roshko, nonparty member, educator, Moscow

The current CPSU statutes and the draft amendments include the words "communist parties of union republics." This naturally raises the question that in addition to the CPSU there also exist autonomous communist parties in the union republics.

I consider that in an important document such as the CPSU statutes there should be no formulations which would lead to a double interpretation, for which reason I suggest that these words be replaced with "republic party organizations."

Signed: M. Zlotnik, CPSU member since 1956, Chelyabinsk

Having studied the draft CPSU statutes amendments, I would like to suggest some supplements. In particular, the first indentation under Paragraph 9, which discusses party penalties, could end with the following words: "the violation of CPSU statutes by its member, consisting of abuse of official position, entails, as a rule, the highest measure of party punishment."

It would be expedient to include in Paragraph 55 the following stipulation: "The party committee secretary and the party buro of the shop organization are elected by direct secret vote at the meeting."

At the end of the first indentation under Paragraph 59, which codifies the right of primary party organizations to supervise administrative activities, the words "observing by (the administration) of party discipline, morality and ethics" should be included.

Signed: V. Suprun, CPSU member since 1965, design engineer, Dnepropetrovsk

I deem it useful to develop as a separate paragraph in the draft amendments to the CPSU statutes the note to Paragraph 59, which discusses setting up in the

primary organizations commissions in charge of exercising the right of controlling the activities of the administration and the work of the apparatus. This is in order to help the commissions to stand firmly on their feet. We should also take into consideration that currently most of the members of such commissions, particularly their chairmen, are members of the administration, and show little interest in intensified control over their activities. The formulation according to which commissions could be set up "by individual area of production activities" has become obsolete and conflicts with the 1982 CPSU Central Committee decree. The regulation on commissions stipulates, in particular, that it is with their help that the party organizations provide systematic control "over the implementation of the decisions of the Communist Party and the Soviet government and the plans for economic and social development." All of this is considerably broader than "areas of production activities" and is already quite extensively applied by the party organizations.

In order to give the party organizations a clear guideline, I consider it necessary that the stipulation on said commissions be formulated as follows: "60. Commissions to exercise the right of controlling administrative activities and the work of the apparatus in the various areas of economic and social activities and the education of people may be set up by the primary party organizations, consisting of workers, kolkhoz members and rank-and-file specialists. The commissions controlling the activities of administrations must be guided by party commissions of superior party bodies which must systematically disseminate knowledge of the scientific foundations of party control."

Signed: A. Agapova, CPSU member since 1941, candidate of historical sciences, Moscow

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## PURITY AND COMBATIVENESS OF PARTY RANKS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 86 (signed to press 2 Jan 86) pp 84-85

[Letter by S. Kozlov, docent, CPSU member since 1945]

[Text] Moscow--As a party member I must express my views on the draft party documents under discussion.

I approve and support the fact that they strengthen the scientific and revolutionary spirit inherent, as Lenin pointed out, in the theory of Marxism "internally and inseparably" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 1, p 341). This is good news.

However, it is precisely for the sake of strengthening the scientific and revolutionary spirit that I deem it necessary to express certain considerations relative to the draft amendments to the party statutes. Thus, Paragraph 3, point "c" reads as follows: "Individuals guilty of suppressing criticism should be held strictly accountable by the party and may even be expelled from the CPSU." This formulation is excessively mild. The word "should" opens wide opportunities for excusing those who suppress criticism. Yet criticism and self-criticism are not merely party weapons. They are a basic condition for its existence. The great Lenin taught us that "All revolutionary parties which have perished so far have perished because of conceit and their inability to realize where lay their strength and because of their fear to speak of their weaknesses. We, however, shall not perish because we are not afraid of speaking of our weaknesses and will learn to surmount weaknesses" (op. cit., vol 45, p 118).

One may object that nobody will undertake to justify those who suppress criticism. Yet although the very same words were included in the current CPSU statutes there still are people who suppress criticism. This has been frequently cited in the press. However, no example could be cited of anyone being expelled from the party precisely because of this paragraph in the statutes. On the contrary, most frequently the suppressors of criticism get away with a slight apprehension, for they always have enjoyed more defenders than those who criticize them. If things are left unchanged, it would be difficult to expect any development of criticism.

Naturally, one could hope that increasingly loyal and convinced party members, who will not undertake to suppress criticism, will find their way into the leadership of the party organizations. This is true. However, Lenin teaches that "...to rely on conviction, loyalty and other excellent spiritual qualities is not something to be taken seriously in politics" (ibid., p 94). Strict measures must be taken, such as those suggested by Lenin toward the careerists and rascals who had attached themselves to the party (see op. cit., vol 41, p 20), who, to this day, are still trying to attach themselves to the great party above all because it is ruling.

Under contemporary conditions criticism is a particularly important means of strengthening order and discipline. Those who suppress criticism undermine the party's authority and trust in it. Those who connive with the suppressors of criticism themselves violate order and discipline. Spinelessness and sentimentality displayed toward such suppressors of criticism are harmful. Today this is accepted by everyone. Particularly relevant now are Lenin's words that "sentimentality is no less a crime than profiteering in times of war. Those who violate order and discipline today allow the penetration of the enemy in their midst" (Op. cit., vol 44, pp 166-167).

I therefore suggest that Paragraph 3, item "c" of the draft amendments to the CPSU statutes, include the following: "The party will purge itself of people guilty of suppressing criticism and persecuting for criticism."

Paragraph 58 item "h" stipulated that the primary party organization "struggles against manifestations of bureaucratism." This is proper. However, Lenin taught that "to fight bureaucratism to the end, to full victory over it, is possible only when the entire population participates in management" (op. cit., vol 38, p 170). Developing in the entire population the ability for communist self-management is a necessary prerequisite for the victory of communism.

As the leading vanguard, the party has always set the example in the struggle for communism. In this matter as well it can lead the people to communism with its own example in the development of a communist self-management within its own organizations. The "systematic renovation" of leading party cadres is insufficient to this effect, for the statutes do not give a precise interpretation of the "systematic" concept which, in practice, is stretched out for an indefinite time. The very roots of bureaucratism must be extracted. One of the reasons for it is the excessively long stay of leading party cadres in the same position. This leads to the habit of resolving problems alone and using always the same methods, ignoring circumstantial changes; this also develops in the people close to them, the habit of becoming subservient to the one deemed "irreplaceable".

That is why from time to time the party "reassesses managers and changes them, thus making impossible for them to adapt to the new conditions and the new tasks" (V.I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 36, p 142). Such reevaluation becomes the more painful the longer a person remains in the same position, for he becomes unable to abandon customary views and take a new look at assignments. Yet this confirms Lenin's stipulation that "the new work force in the administration of the state... grows faster among worker and peasant youth who

are studying ever more sincerely, warmly and dedicatedly... rejecting the old... prejudices, hammering itself into even stronger communists than the senior generation" (op. cit., vol 39, p 51).

The faster and the more such young cadres undergo administration training and are replaced subsequently by younger and more energetic cadres, the easier will the flexible restructuring of cadres become in the solution of any new problem, without encountering their internal opposition and unwillingness to change. Yet it is precisely the unwillingness to change that is quite noticeable in many current managers who have stayed too long on their jobs. This is confirmed by numerous newspaper publications and an even greater example borrowed from reality. This makes extremely relevant today Lenin's words to the effect that "our worst internal enemy is the bureaucrat, the communist who holds a responsible (and irresponsible) soviet position and who enjoys universal respect as a conscientious person.... He has not learned how to struggle against red tape. He does not know how to struggle with it and conceals it. We must purge ourselves from this enemy..." (op. cit., vol 45, p 15).

We can purge ourselves from such officials by limiting the amount of time they remain in an elective party position, thus preventing anyone to develop the idea of his irreplaceability, not to mention the possibility of surrounding himself with boot-lickers.

I suggest the following addition to Paragraph 24 of the draft amendments to the CPSU statutes: "Managers of rayon, oblast and republic party bodies may be elected for no more than two terms."

In a period of 10 years life inevitably raises new problems which require new forces and new approaches. This can be achieved more easily by individuals who have not become settled in their position and turned into bureaucrats.

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## SCIENTIFIC HORIZONS

### THE ORIGIN OF LIFE FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF PHYSICS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 86 (signed to press 2Jan 86) pp 86-98

[Article by Academician V. Goldanskiy, Lenin Prize laureate]

[Text] Engels' famous definition: "Life is a method of existence of proteinaceous bodies, an essential feature of which is the constant exchange of matter with its external environment, and with cessation of this metabolism, life also ceases..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 20, p 616) anticipated its time, pointing out the main feature in the characterization of the essence of life.

One can only be surprised by the fact that Engels, who was not even a biologist, managed to spot the main point, given all the limitations of the factual material of that time on the most profound foundations of the functioning of biological systems. Understanding perfectly well that the science of life's essence had only just taken its first steps, he wrote: "Our definition of life, to be sure, is highly inadequate, since it is far from able to embrace all phenomena of life..." (ibid., p 84).

In science the thought that proteins are not only the building blocks of living things, but play an important role in all life functions, including the inheritance of traits, was firmly established. In the 1950s it became clear that the development of any living organism was closely related not only to proteins, but also to nucleic acids, the carriers of all information about the organism. It is precisely because of nucleic acids -- DNA and RNA -- that, in Engels' words, "the constant self-renewal" of proteinaceous bodies occurs.

As we shall see, the development of natural science has expanded and tightened Engels' definition.

The deeper we penetrate the nature of living things, the more clearly we recognize that the essence of many life phenomena is impossible to understand without resolving the question of its arisal. "All biochemical and biophysical research leads directly to the past, to the overall question of origin," wrote the famous English scientist J. D. Bernal (Collection, "Teoreticheskaya i Matematicheskaya Biologiya [Theoretical and Mathematical Biology], Mir, Moscow, 1968, p 113).

There is no need, it seems to us, to prove the intransient worldwide significance of this problem, very ancient and at the same time always contemporary and attracting universal attention.

Presently, the science of the origin of life is going through a new upswing caused by achievements of biology, chemistry and physics. We will be discussing the contribution of the latter. However, first we will briefly discuss modern concepts of the molecular foundations for all living things.

#### The Basis of Life -- Proteins and Nucleic Acids

As we know, the DNA molecule is structured as a double helix, formed by two polynucleotide chains twisted one around the other. These chains are not arbitrarily linked; they are joined according to a fully defined law of "complementariness" (from the English "complementary" meaning "mutually supplementary"). Let us clarify. The individual links of each DNA chain (nucleotides) consist of deoxyribose (sugar) and four nitrogenous bases: adenine -- A, guanine -- G, thymine -- T, and cytosine -- C. Their sequence can vary, but the double helix (DNA specifically) is formed only when each nucleotide of one chain corresponds exactly to a certain nucleotide of the other (A - T, G - C). The DNA of any organism is built according to this principle. Such is the essence of this law.

DNA predetermines the structure of all proteins from which an organism is made.

Let us also note that a universal genetic code exists for all living things: each of the twenty amino acids which form all of an organism's proteins, without exception, correspond to a fully determined sequence of three nucleotides per chain. In this sense, all life on Earth is one and the same.

Thus, the basic molecules of life are biopolymers: proteins (polypeptides) and DNA and RNA (polynucleotides). The most basic sign of life is self-reproduction, the self-renewal of proteinaceous bodies, at the base of which lies self-replication, i.e. the reduplication of a DNA molecule which transfers genetic information to the aborning cell.

Just how does this take place within an organism?

Under the influence of a number of protein enzymes which are contained in the cell's plasma, the double helix of DNA is unwound and on each thread, as in a matrix, a new, complementary thread is formed. It is as though taking down "imprints" (replicas) from each of the separate chains takes place. This, precisely, is the first stage of the self-replication process. In other words, the number of DNA molecules is doubled. The growth of a complementary chain, in principle, can even be considered spontaneous. Thus it was recently discovered that the RNA molecule is able to catalyze its own self-replication -- the RNA itself, without enzymes, is able to provide for sufficiently rapid formation of its own copies.

Therefore, we can now give the following definition: life is a form of existence of biopolymers (systems) capable of self-replication under

conditions of constant exchange of matter and energy with the surrounding environment.

However, the property of self-replication is not the only thing which distinguishes the animate from the inanimate world on the molecular level. Biopolymers have yet another amazing and most typical property.

### The Chiral Purity of Biopolymers

In 1848 Louis Pasteur, still a rather young researcher, discovered the mirror isomer of organic molecules. It turned out that molecules, in which a carbon atom is connected by its four valent bonds to four different neighbors, can exist in two structural forms, similar but at the same time different from each other, like right and left gloves or right and left palms. The right palm is identical to the left if one reflects it in a mirror. In the world of molecules there are exact analogs of right and left hands -- the so-called molecular mirror opposites. They are still referred to as optical isomers, since they differ from each other in the fact that they rotate the plane of polarization of light passing through them to opposite sides.

This ability of molecules to exist in two mirror-opposite forms is known in science as chirality (from the Greek "chiro" -- hand). The molecular "bricks" of living things -- amino acids and sugars -- are included among the organic substances which possess this property. It turns out that in practice an absolute chiral purity exists in animate nature: proteins contain only "left" amino acids, but nucleic acids contain only "right" sugars! This is the second of the most important distinctions between the animate and the inanimate.

We can state that the unity of life is expressed in the fact that, beyond dependence on its manifestations, it is characterized by two special properties -- self-replication and chiral purity. In this unity we grasp the key which brings us closer to unraveling the puzzle of the origin of life.

The chiral purity of animate nature signifies that at a certain stage of evolution a disturbance -- more precisely, a complete breakdown -- of mirror symmetry of the prebiological environment occurred. The fact that the original environment had mirror symmetry (i.e. it contained an equal quantity of right and left isomers) is supported by experiments which have been conducted for more than 30 years now, simulating the synthesis of organic compounds (such as amino acids, sugars, etc.) under conditions corresponding to primeval Earth. In these experiments, an equal quantity of both left and right isomers was synthesized. Chemists refer to such a mixture as racemic or racemate.

It is known that chirally pure compounds, left to themselves, sooner or later convert into a racemic mixture. In inanimate nature the process of racemization, the self-arbitrary conversion of left molecules into right and vice-versa, occurs at a certain constant speed. According to the relative number of right amino acids in fossilized organic remains, it is possible to date the time of their formation very precisely. Lately, this method of dating has been successfully used in paleontology.



Thus, in inanimate nature there is a tendency towards racemization, towards the establishment of mirror symmetry, towards an equilibrium between left and right. It is for precisely this reason that the emergence of the biosphere's chiral purity is one of the greatest mysteries in the problem of life's origin.

Indeed, on the one hand, as a result of numerous experiments it is common knowledge that polymers (protein analogs) which consist of molecules with a single type of chirality (for example, left) have a number of advantages over racemic or chirally "impure" polymers. They are polymerized more rapidly and reach sizable dimensions. However, the most important thing is that it is precisely such polymers which are capable of forming spiral structures, which play a very important role in biological properties.

On the other hand, these very same experiments also show that if the formation of polymers takes place in a racemic environment, then the probability of inclusion, not only of left, but also of right isomers in their composition is very great -- "impure" polymers are obtained. Incidentally, all biopolymers -- proteins and nucleic acids -- are chirally pure!

Paradoxical though it may seem, the tremendous successes of molecular biology, which have enriched science with vitally important information about the most intimate mechanisms of living things, did not come closer to unraveling the secret of the origin of life. Moreover, concepts in this area are becoming all the more diffuse: the thesis, ingrained in textbooks, that life emerges in a lifeless organic environment the moment the "necessary conditions" are created is essentially meaningless. After all, nobody can say for certain which specific conditions are required for this. In particular, should an organic substance in a prebiological state be condensed and warm (something like a thick, warm and salty primary broth) or conversely, rarefied and cold (as in dark, interstellar regions)? What can one say about the other characteristics of a prebiological state needed for the emergence of life, for instance, about the duration of its existence, of the necessary resources of organic substances? Finally, just what connection is there between the two above-mentioned most important properties of life? There are no answers to these and a number of similar questions at this time.

The principles themselves, on the basis of which one might attempt to answer these questions, are unknown. With a lack of clear concepts on this, any judgment of the time and path of life's emergence, or of its spread through the universe, are similarly unconvincing.

In 1984 a group of Dutch and American chemists conducted experiments which shed light on the connection of an environments chiral purity to the nucleotide replication process. The idea of the experiment (but not its implementation) was quite simple: to clarify whether or not the process of replication is different when synthesis occurs in a chirally pure solution (containing, as it should, only right -- natural -- sugars) or when it takes place in a racemic environment.

It turned out that replication from the chirally pure solution resulted in significantly longer polymer chains than from the racemic solution. In the

latter case the chain ceased growing as soon as a nucleotide with a left (unnatural) form of sugar was included within it, and the chain's growth stopped very quickly, containing no more than 3 - 4 nucleotide links.

We have studied these experiments and found two essential circumstances. First, sufficiently long polypeptide chains (no less than several dozen links) can be formed only in a chirally pure environment. Second, even within such an environment, matrix replication in and of itself cannot lead to the formation of chains longer than several hundred links.

Thus, self-replication can arise and be maintained only in a chirally pure environment. This signifies that a breakdown of mirror symmetry in the prebiological organic environment should have occurred before the emergence of self-replication -- after all, in the racemate this process is virtually impossible! Hence we arrive at a fundamentally important conclusion: the breakdown of mirror symmetry in the initial organic environment, the transition from a racemic state to a chirally pure one, was carried out already at a stage of the chemical, the prebiological evolution. This was a necessary, inevitable (although in and of itself still insufficient) stage preceding the emergence of life.

#### Disturbance of Mirror Symmetry -- the Prerequisite for the Origin of Life

Then just how did a disturbance of the prebiological world's mirror symmetry occur? Was it a consequence of internally stipulated development and complication of the environment's own organization, or was it due to some other cause, such as external influences?

For a long time it was thought that since inanimate nature has a tendency towards racemization, a breakdown of the prebiological environment's symmetry and the emergence of chiral purity could take place only due to external asymmetrical influences -- an advantageous factor for one of the opposite molecular forms. Pasteur was the first to advance this hypothesis. He thought that the chiral purity of living matter arose under the effect of a certain cosmic factor. It is known (and this was first demonstrated experimentally at the beginning of this century) that in chemical reactions which occur under the influence of an advantageous factor, i.e. under asymmetrical conditions, an excess of one of the opposites results. Therefore, we considered polarized solar and lunar light, the Earth's rotation, its magnetic field, electrical discharges in the atmosphere, etc. as possible agents which could create such asymmetrical conditions. However, the effect of all these factors could give either right or left molecules an advantage on the global scale. Mathematical study shows that the entire environment should have remained racemic.

With the discovery in the 1950s of a disparity of left and right in the world of elementary particles (as they say in the language of physics: the nonconservation of parity in weak interactions), Pasteur's hypothesis began to acquire a more solid foundation. However, lengthy attempts to extend this principle to the chemical conversions of mirror isomers have proven, so far, to be fruitless.

What is the problem? What sorts of forces and processes are responsible for the appearance of chiral purity? The answer to this question is provided by the study of factors capable of influencing the breakdown or the maintenance of an organic environment's mirror symmetry.

We have already considered two of them above -- racemization and the factor of advantage. They act on a system of mirror isomers like two vectors, directed at opposite sides.

There is yet another factor which has a very important role -- statistical fluctuations in the mirror isomer system. This is a surplus of one of the opposites (a divergence from the racemate) which arises as a random form at one or another moment, in one or another place. Such deviations also disappear just as randomly, and overall the environment remains racemic.

All these factors depend on the environment's state. Consequently, the question of a breakdown in symmetry is a question of the influence and comparative role of the indicated factors. This is the same as the question of which processes and systems capable of breaking down mirror symmetry should have existed. The answers will help select the "scenario" in which a certain stage of evolution occurred on Earth.

Let us recall that Engels, in his definition of life, named "the constant exchange of matter with the surrounding... external nature," as an indispensable condition. In fact, this is a definition of imbalance. Almost 100 years were needed for this thought to become a working tool of science. And now research on properties of open, imbalanced systems of self-organization is developing intensively. Within the context of this trend -- synergism -- it is now becoming all the more clear as to how a solution may be found to the question of the moving forces which disturbed mirror symmetry in the course of life's origination. L. L. Morozov's works have been decisive in this direction.

Mathematical study shows that all of two types of processes are possible (two types of dynamic laws) which describe the behavior of imbalanced chiral systems. The first type describes processes of continuous selection of one opposite form of molecules. Development according to this law could be called a "scenario" of continuous, sequential evolution. However, it is not difficult to show that, in an evolutionary variant, an advantageous factor is not in a condition to compete with the factor of racemization. The environment's disturbance of symmetry would be so slight that it would be impossible to discover, even using the most advanced instruments. Yet, the chiral purity of the biosphere is absolute. Therefore, a sequential evolution "scenario" for the emergence of chiral purity is not applicable.

The second type of laws is a drastic, spasmodic change of the system's properties during a change in the environment's parameters. It occurs when critical conditions have formed and the environment is no longer capable of existing in its previous, unstable, symmetrical state and shifts with a leap to a new, stable state with disturbed mirror symmetry. A mathematician would say that a bifurcation was observed in the system, while a physicist would call such processes phase shifts. (Examples of similar processes are the

spontaneous magnetization of iron, turning water into ice, etc.) Processes of such a type possess a very important property -- they are able to effectively withstand racemization; a state with disturbed symmetry is stable and in the presence of a level of racemization is "fatal" for sequential evolution.

Careful study leads us to the conclusion that only a sui generis phaseshift could have caused a disturbance of mirror symmetry in a prebiological environment. In other words, the emergence of chiral purity occurred in the bifurcation "scenario".

Such an approach allows us to draw closer to an answer to the question of how long it is necessary to wait for the disturbance of symmetry to occur in this environment. The importance of the concept of expected time for a global disturbance of mirror symmetry is obvious: it allows one to establish an objective criterion for the essential possibility of life's emergence under the most diverse conditions. If the expected time to start the disturbance of symmetry exceeds the time of a certain environment's existence, then it follows that life could not have arisen within it. The possibility of going from a general judgment of the probability of life's arising under one or another set of conditions to specific calculations appears, allowing us to compare various "scenarios" of this process. For example, the expected time for the emergence of a prebiosphere with disturbed mirror symmetry at different early stages of the universe's evolution comprise a value immeasurably greater than the lifetime, accepted by modern cosmologists, of observed parts of the universe -- 15 - 20 billion years. The conclusion is obvious: the arising of life in these stages can be considered absolutely out of the question.

Similar estimate for the emergence of a chirally pure prebiosphere on Earth from a "primordial broth" lead to reasonable values of the expected time -- on the order of several millions of tens of millions of years. Moreover, the simplest estimates already indicate sufficiently precisely that the physical conditions on an Earth-type object most adequate for the formation of a bioorganic world are based on precisely those particles and structures (and time interval) which are observed in reality.

#### Basic Stages of the Arisal of Life

How can one conceive of a system for the arising of life?

The first stage is the formation and accumulation of various organic compounds, including the most important components of biopolymers (amino acids, sugars, nucleotides, etc.). The mechanism for creating them under Earth conditions has been elucidated and simulated in many experiments. At this stage, racemic mixtures of optical isomers were formed. An environment in which these processes are possible, in principle, could even be cosmic space: astrophysicists have found many organic substances, including the simplest amino acids, in dark interstellar regions.

The presence of organic compounds in space expands our concepts of the possibilities for forming them, but in this expanded stage they arise as "dead" racemates.

The next stage is the disturbance of mirror symmetry in the "initial broth" and the formation of a chirally pure organic environment: only left amino acids and right sugars remained. This stage is exceptionally important -- it is a departure point for the subsequent evolution of a prelife state.

The third stage is the formation of comparatively short (several hundred links) nucleotide chains, the simplest threads of future DNA and RNA polynucleotides, in the chirally pure environment. The simplest chirally pure fragments of polypeptide nature can also now be synthesized into such simple polynucleotides. The enzymatic role of the polypeptides themselves and of the nucleotide chains is possible as well.

One way or another, the simplest biopolymer systems capable of self-replication emerge at this stage. A new, most important property becomes apparent -- the self-maintenance of chiral purity during subsequent evolution. Now the pressure of life is already suppressing racemization. However, this already biological factor has to stop acting for racemization to take effect.

Thus life and a biosphere arose. Its long path from the simplest organisms to thinking beings is beyond the scope of our consideration. Nor shall we touch upon the question of whether life on Earth is unique, or whether it exists somewhere else in the universe. However, we can now say with conviction that no matter where life has arisen, it has been born according to one and the same universal laws! The birth of life, by necessity, is preceded by a disturbance of mirror symmetry and the appearance of the ability for self-replication.

The problem of life's origin is entering an age of new ideas which affects almost all modern natural sciences. This is the inevitable consequence of science's overall course of development -- a tendency towards generalization, towards close interactions among its most diverse fields. An extraordinarily interesting area of research is opening up which not only has a strictly scientific, but also great conceptual significance. Successes in this field are able to shake the foundations of the religious outlook more strongly than many other achievements of natural science.

However, paradoxically, the aspiration to squeeze new facts within the framework of theism is not abating. A most vivid example is the activity of the supporters of creationism -- the biblical myth of the creation of the world. In many foreign countries books are published (in editions exceeding those of scientific publications!) and "scientific" conferences and public discussions are conducted. Although "the teaching of religion... about the Earth's past and the creation of the world does not correspond to any sort of objective reality" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol. 18, p 194), the creationists (and not only they) do not omit possibilities to avail themselves of unresolved questions about life's origin for attacks on materialism. As they have already done more than once, the theists explain the arising of orderliness from chaos, of life from inanimate nature, by the interference of a "higher being" who brings order and expediency into the world.



However, the emergence of biopolymers and life is not a unique random act, but a multiple-stage, natural process in which each step was carried out only when the necessary conditions, about which we are becoming increasingly knowledgeable, appeared. There is no need whatsoever to resort to unscientific "hypotheses".

#### The Danger of a Breakdown in the Biosphere's Chiral Purity

Physical and mathematical study of the conditions for a breakdown in the mirror symmetry of the prebiological environment unexpectedly indicates the relevance, in the deepest sense of the word, of the problem of maintaining the contemporary biosphere's chiral purity. One could say that it is appropriate to pose the question of calculating the role of additional racemizing influences created by civilization itself. Since chiral purity is an inalienable property of living things, playing an extremely important role in the life processes of any organism, ignoring this role may lead, to put it mildly, to extremely undesirable consequences.

In the 1960s a tragedy occurred in Western Europe. The culprit was thalidomide, a widely advertised drug for relieving nervous tension. It quickly won popularity, but it was just as quickly discovered that it had very harmful properties: the children of women who had taken thalidomide were born with serious pathological deformities... The cause of this had remained unclear until researchers noted that the drug was produced in racemic form, i.e. it contained equal amounts of left and right isomers and it was established that only one of the optical isomers, the "unnatural" one, has a destructive effect, while its mirror opposite is harmless.

The danger of "unnatural" compounds lies in the fact that evolution did not provide organisms (it being unnecessary) with means to fight against them, since the biosphere is chirally pure. The matter is not limited by the fact that such compounds simply are not assimilated by the organism -- "unnatural" isomers can disturb the normal functioning of organs and tissues. This question requires the close attention of scientists of diverse specialties, particularly those of our century of new, rapidly developing technologies.

The above-mentioned is especially important for the food and pharmaceutical industries, the products of which directly affect people's health. It is clear that not only is the creation and introduction of methods for effective control of the chiral purity of various products and substances required here, but also the discovery of new, highly efficient methods for obtaining chirally pure compounds. In this latter task, comprehension of the laws by which the chirally pure state of a chemical environment is formed is extraordinarily important.

Under conditions of increased political tension and the development of the arms race, the superpowerful, additional racemizing influences caused by the means of mass annihilation could present a special danger. A sharp increase in the mortality rate, the destruction of animals and plants under the conditions of a months-long "nuclear winter," the spasmodic increase in the racemizational background on Earth caused by various deadly influences, could



all turn out to be so significant as to lead to the most catastrophic consequences, even within the context of a "limited" nuclear war.

The biosphere is a relatively integral system in a state of naturally formed dynamic equilibrium in constant interaction with its cosmic surroundings. It maintains chiral purity as a necessary condition for life by its own processes, defending itself from natural racemizing influences.

What would happen to the biosphere if it were additionally burdened with racemizing influences much greater than the natural ones?

A study conducted by us showed that two critical levels of such influences are possible, two degrees of biospheric breakdown.

The first is the disappearance of the entire animal world (man as well) owing to a global adverse influence on all organisms, leading to a sharp reduction in their lifespans. Let us note that even if part of mankind protected itself in such a situation from annihilation, inevitably being subject to a racemic surrounding, it would die in the end. After all, food must be chirally pure.

A strong contamination of the surrounding environment with "unnatural" isomeric forms of organic substances is fraught with the annihilation of precisely those parts which can exist only within a chirally pure environment. Such an outcome is appropriately termed a "catastrophic loss of chiral purity."

Some may argue that, from the viewpoint of the possibility of evolutionary renewal, the situation is, in a certain sense, reversible. After all, the biosphere's chiral purity in such a transition is not broken down once and for all. After the harmful influence has ceased it will sooner or later be revived and consequently, the theoretical chances for the appearance of higher organisms once again remain in principle. However, a similar revival for humanity is very small comfort.

In the second place, the influences on the biosphere may turn out to be the same that would occur in a fully racemized environment. Not only animals would die, but also the plant world which now serves as the basic source of chirally pure substances formed from initial ones which do not possess the properties of chirality. This would mean the complete, final disappearance of the biosphere. The planet's level of development would be thrown back billions of years!

In evaluating the possibility of such a supercatastrophe, it is necessary to clearly realize that it is a question not only of simultaneous, superpowerful racemizing influence, as it is the consequences of prolonged influence of a racemizational background, the level of which exceeds certain critical values. Without exaggeration, a similar supercatastrophe can be characterized as the complete collapse of life.

In order for life to be restored on Earth once again, it would once again be necessary to go through all the stages of the prebiological evolution of matter, including the breakdown of the organic environment's mirror symmetry.

As we see, the "strength" resources of the biosphere are far from limitless. If mankind wants to preserve its existence, it should not impose its "rules" on nature for a very careless game, the stakes of which are all living things.

The problem of the emergence of life on Earth is entering an age of new ideas which touches practically all of modern science -- from molecular biology to cosmology.

A scientific picture of life's emergence is a necessary part of concepts about the world, of the world outlook of every educated person. The materialistic concept of life's origin shows and will show in the long run a deep influence on people's thinking. Under conditions of aggravation of the ideological struggle it will counter idealism, religion and all the latest attempts to promote fideism. This idea should strengthen the awareness of great responsibility for the global destinies of our planet in all thinking people.

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## SOVIET HISTORICAL SCIENCE ON THE EVE OF THE 27TH CPSU CONGRESS

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[Article by Academician S. Tikhvinskiy]

[Text] The social sciences, the science of history in particular, play a major role in resolving the gigantic task facing the country:attaining a qualitatively new societal status through the substantial acceleration of socioeconomic progress.

The party relates the successful solution of this problem to upgrading the role of the human factor and the interested, responsible, conscious and active participation of millions of people in the further advancement of socialist society. The party's program in the area of spiritual life calls for the further strengthening of Marxist-Leninist ideology in the consciousness of the Soviet people, the full assertion of the moral principles of socialism and the spirit of collectivism and comradely mutual aid, exposing the broadest possible population masses to the achievements of science and the values of socialist culture, and molding a comprehensively developed individual. The party considers as the main feature of ideological work at the present stage the education of the working people in a spirit of high idea-mindedness and loyalty to communism, Soviet patriotism and proletarian and socialist internationalism, a conscious attitude toward labor and public property, increased exposure to the treasures of spiritual culture and uprooting mores and phenomena alien to our way of life.

Soviet historical science must substantially contribute to the implementation of these programmatic stipulations and to resolving the main tasks of the party's social policy and its ideological education work.

Soviet historians are approaching the 27th CPSU Congress with certain achievements in the development of a number of topical problems of domestic and global history, archeology and ethnography.

Major works completed during the 11th Five-Year Plan include the 13-volume "Vsemirnaya Istoriya" [World History], which has been translated and published in a number of foreign countries, the 12-volume "Istoriya Vtoroy Mirovoy Voyny, 1939-1945" [History of World War II 1930-1945], the 8-volume study "Mezhdunarodnoye Rabocheye Dvizheniye. Voprosy Istorii i Teorii" [The

International Workers Movement. Problems of History and Theory], the 12-volume "Istoriya SSSR s Drevneyshikh Vremen do Nashikh Dney" [History of the USSR from Most Ancient Times to the Present], the 20-volume popular science ethnogeographic series "Strany i Narody" [Countries and Peoples] and the multiple-volume "Arkheologiya SSSR" [Archeology of the USSR]. Let us also single out comprehensive works, such as the first three volumes of "Istoriya Sovetskogo Rabocheho Klassa" [History of the Soviet Working Class], the 3-volume work "Zarubezhnyy Vostok i Sovremennost" [The Foreign East and Our Times], the 2-volume "Istoriya Vneshney Politiki SSSR" [History of USSR Foreign Policy] and the studies "From Capitalism to Socialism. Basic Problems of the Transitional Period in the USSR," "Basic Problems of the History of the Strengthening and Development of Socialism in the USSR (1938-1960)," "The Great October and the Revolutions of the 1940s in the Countries of Central and Southeastern Europe," and "The USSR and the People's Democracies. Establishment of Relations of Friendship and Cooperation," and others.

During that period a number of collections of documents on USSR history and foreign policy were published, covering relations between the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries, Soviet-American, Soviet-French and Soviet-British relations during the Great Patriotic War, a collection of articles on the Yalta Conference, and others. Works were published on the history of ancient Greece, Rome and Byzantium, on U.S. history and the history of many countries in Europe, Asia, Africa and America. Work is underway on an 8-volume "History of Europe from Most Ancient Times to the Present" and on a "History of the Peasantry in the USSR." A series of new textbooks on domestic and universal history for secondary and higher education institutions was written.

Many Soviet historians were awarded the Lenin Prize for their works (academicians N.M. Druzhinin, I.I. Mints and B.A. Rybakov and USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding members P.A. Zhilin and V.L. Yanin); others were awarded the USSR State Prize (academician L.V. Cherepnin, doctors of historical sciences L.R. Kyzlasov and A.I. Klibanov and others).

The works of the Novgorod archaeological expedition created great interest in the Soviet and world public. It resulted in the discovery of a number of unique monuments of Medieval Russian culture and life, including more than 600 birch-bark manuscripts, clearly confirming that literacy and education were widespread in Rus at that time. Successful work is being carried out by other archeological expeditions inside the Soviet Union and abroad.

A large multinational detachment of Soviet historians, many of whom have been presented with high governmental awards, are working in the History Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences, which includes the institutes of USSR history, general history, archeology, ethnography, oriental studies, Slavic and Balkan studies and military history. The department is currently engaged in developing a number of long-term programs aimed at focusing the efforts of history specialists in academic institutes and VUZs in the main areas of research and coordinating their efforts. They include:

1. "Building a Socialist Society in the USSR" (headed by Yu.A. Polyakov, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member. The program calls for the study of

the history of all stages in building socialism in our country and abroad, problems of accelerating scientific and technical progress and perfecting production relations, reorganization of economic management, shaping a classless society, development of democracy and the role of the human factor.

2. "Revolution and Social Progress" (headed by Academician I.I. Mints). The main purpose of the program is the comprehensive study of the history of the October Revolution and its impact on the global revolutionary process, the typology of socialist revolutions in various parts of the world and the history of bourgeois-democratic revolutions and their influence on social development.

3. "Problems of Peace and War in the 20th Century" (headed by Academician A.M. Samsonov). This program directs the scientists to work on the history of Soviet foreign policy and diplomacy, the history of the World Wars, the peace movements and criticism of bourgeois historiography pertaining to problems of war and peace.

4. "History of the Culture of the Peoples of the USSR" (headed by Academician B.A. Rybakov). The main task of the program is to study the establishment and development of all national cultures of the peoples of the Soviet Union, their reciprocal influence and enrichment, problems of cultural legacy, the common and specific features of national cultures and the shaping of the socialist culture of Soviet society.

5. "Ethnogeneses, and Ethnosocial and National Processes of our Time" (headed by Academician Yu.V. Bromley). The political, theoretical and practical significance of these problems has been particularly noted in the draft new edition of the CPSU program. This involves work on the origin of nations, the general features in their sociocultural history, contemporary ethnosocial and national processes and the establishment of the new social and international community--the single Soviet people.

6. "General Laws and Specific Features in the Development of Socioeconomic Systems" (headed by USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member Z.V. Udaltsova). The program calls for theoretical history work on the establishment, development and breakdown of the slave-owning, feudal and capitalist systems. It is focused on the study of problems caused by the general crisis of capitalism in its imperialist stage.

The USSR Academy of Sciences History Department is working on all of these long-term programs on the basis of close cooperation among historians, philosophers, theologians, sociologists, economists, psychologists, linguists and ethnographers. The purpose of the long-term comprehensive programs is to assist the successful combination of theoretical, specific-historical and practical science studies conducted by Soviet historians. Work on such programs was started only recently and a great deal remains to be done before they can make an important and substantial contribution to science, consistent with the needs of the present stage in the development of Soviet society and the higher research standards attained in our country.

The main task of Soviet historical science is to describe the forward development of society as a legitimate internally determined process of change of sociohistorical systems. Through basic research the historians must describe the course of this process in its entire variety and specific nature and the unity between objective and subjective, mass and individual, and possible and actual factors. Knowledge of general laws and specific features of the historical process contributes to the more profound understanding of our time. This is one of the most important cognitive functions of historical science.

From the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, nature, social life and thinking are part of a development process, the laws of which can be determined only by studying its history. It is precisely in that sense that K. Marx and F. Engels emphasized in "German Ideology" that "The only science we know is the science of history" ("Soch." [Works], vol 3, p 16). "...Not to be lost in a mass of petty or a huge variety of conflicting opinions is the most important thing in order to approach this matter from the scientific point of view. We must not forget," V.I. Lenin pointed out, "the existence of a basic historical tie and look at each problem from the viewpoint of how a certain phenomenon appeared in history, what were the main stages which this phenomenon crossed in its development and, from the viewpoint of such a development, consider what it has become now" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 39, p 67).

The materialistic understanding of history presumes, as Lenin thought, the formulation of all social problems on a historical basis "not in the sense merely of explaining the past but of fearlessly predicting the future and engaging in daring practical activities aimed at its realization..." (op. cit., vol 26, p 75). It is thus that knowledge of history became organically linked with the practice of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. Our party's activities are based on this Leninist concept which predetermines the spirit of the draft new edition of the CPSU program.

History deals with virtually limitless empirical data covering all realms of social life in the many millenia of existence of human society. Marxism-Leninism is inconceivable without historicism as one of the fundamental principles of the dialectical approach to the study of nature and society and knowledge, which calls for the consideration of all processes and phenomena in their development.

The new draft of the party program is an example of the creative enrichment of Marxism-Leninism. The theoretical summations and conclusions it includes are based on the comprehensive and profound study of the universal-historical process. Such summations and conclusions affect central problems of the contemporary stage of social development and are the foundations for the interpretation of the entire historical process and for summing up the experience acquired in building a new society in the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist community.

By its very nature, Marxist-Leninist science is creative, steadily developing and advancing. It presumes the search for daring, deepening and concretizing theoretical conclusions. Through its study of the past and the present the



science of history not only confirms the fundamental stipulations of Marxism-Leninism but also provides the richest possible data which enable us to refine and expand them. The positive and negative features of the past become clearer and more tangible in its summations; profound processes of the legitimate replacement of the old with the new become apparent and so does the dialectical unity between the general and the specific and necessity and randomness.

Unlike other social theories of the historical process, Marxism-Leninism provided an integral scientific substantiation of the concept of the ascent of mankind from lower to higher stages. All aspects of a closed and ossified doctrine are organically alien to Marxism-Leninism. The main factor which determines its continuous development is the practical experience acquired in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society, an experience which is being gained by all countries in the world. The interpretation of this experience steadily enriches Marxism-Leninism with new scientific concepts. Equally incompatible with the dogmatic approach is Marxist-Leninist historical science, which observes the same basic and universal dialectical laws which determine the progress of society and are manifested in each country through its national, cultural-historical and other features. As indicated by practical experience, the refusal to acknowledge and understand such laws discovered by the Marxist-Leninist theory and confirmed through the comprehensive experience of the nations, and any kind of conceptual carelessness and eclecticism, inevitably lead to a surrender of our positions to our ideological opponents and to the loss of the ability to assess the course and prospects of global social developments in the only accurate and truly scientific manner.

A sharp ideological struggle is taking place in world historical science. Our opponents are trying to corrupt the flesh and soul of Marxism by all possible means, to dilute it and to make it relative, adapting it to the "pluralistic" theoretical elaborations of the defenders of the bourgeois way of life and thinking, and to replace Marxism with the theory of "continuity" and other "fashionable" anti-Marxist doctrines.

At the same time, a continuing enrichment of the Marxist-Leninist concept of the historical process is taking place in the world. The numerous studies made by Soviet historians and their colleagues in the fraternal socialist countries and the works of Marxist historians in capitalist and liberated countries, dealing with a variety of topics, expand the limits of the knowledge of the history of mankind, help us to perfect the mechanism for the study of historical phenomena, contribute to the elaboration of new means and methods of knowledge and encourage the formulation of new theoretical problems and their solution.

Historians are actively debating the question of the experience and lessons of the past. This topic is of great interest not only to specialist historians but also to writers, painters and cinematographers and to anyone involved in the creation of works of art on historical topics. We care for our past, for it includes the heroic struggle of the working people for their social and national liberation and against foreign aggressors. The careful preservation

and development of revolutionary and patriotic traditions is a major factor in building the new society and educating the new person.

The epic of the 20th Century is, above all, the Great October Socialist Revolution and the heroic history of building socialism and communism in the USSR. It includes the exploit of the Soviet people during the Great Patriotic War and the heroic toil of the Soviet people, who created a powerful industrial state and whose successes in science and culture have become universally acknowledged; it includes achieving military-strategic parity with the largest and most powerful capitalist state--the United States--thus allowing mankind to safeguard peace on earth and protect civilization from a nuclear missile catastrophe.

It is quite natural that we cannot forget the difficulties, failures and errors which have taken place in the course of building socialism and which we must expose and study in order to prevent their recurrence.

We are pleased that historical and social experience, summed up in the studies by Soviet historians, is being put to practical use. A system is being currently developed for applying the results of historical studies, which includes not only the publication of books and articles but also the drafting of analytical references and forecasts for party and state bodies which issue directives, the holding of practical science conferences and other measures involving interested soviet and economic institutions, the dissemination of historical knowledge through motion pictures, radio, television and the mass press, the organization of exhibits, the publication of popular science works and providing scientific-methodical aid to higher and secondary schools and cultural institutions.

The results of the studies made by Soviet historians are used in areas where irrigation was practiced in ancient times in terms of setting priorities in the choice of areas to be reclaimed, organizing the preservation and restoration of historical and cultural monuments, studying the impact of industrial and agricultural production on the environment and resolving problems of the economic and cultural development of the peoples and regions in our country. Thus, scientific and practical science conferences have been held on "Study of Ancient Irrigation Areas and Their Use in the National Economy," "Contemporary Ethnosocial Processes in the Countryside and Their Study in the Light of the Resolutions of the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum." Recommendations were drafted on the efficient utilization of marine biological resources by the native population of the Far East and Extreme North, taking national cultural traditions into consideration. Historians are participating in the comprehensive study of the consequences of human economic activities in the Nonchernozem zone in the European part of the USSR, providing the USSR Dendrochronological Bank with data on the study of changes in the climate and boundaries of plant zones covering a number of periods in the territory of the European part of the USSR, and drafting forecasts on the development of individual countries throughout the world. They are participating in the implementation of the humanities part of the "Siberia" program, drafted by the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department, working on two of its sections.

The first of them calls for the summation of historical experience in Siberia's economic and sociocultural development. The age-old experience of the development of the Russian and native population becomes particularly important under contemporary conditions, when a development of production forces and the intensive settling of previously unsettled territories, unprecedented in terms of scale and pace, is taking place in its vast areas. The summation and utilization of this experience and, particularly, of socialist changes is of exceptional value in terms of the development of such areas, owing to their extreme natural and climatic conditions, not only in our country but abroad as well.

Despite unquestionable achievements in Siberia's industrial development, a number of difficulties and unresolved problems remain. Economic practice indicates that major projects are being implemented frequently without proper consideration and utilization of historical experience. The result is omissions, lowered efficiency of outlays and material and moral costs. This has made the extensive summation of positive experience in the industrial development of the area and its consideration and dissemination necessary. Study topics include the history of designing, equipping and operating enterprises and territorial complexes, summing up the experience in their establishment and development, ties between science and production, determination of regional specifics and laws governing the development of socialist agriculture, and identifying the long- and short-term positive and negative factors which influence it. In addition to regional economic and social problems, the program assigns great importance to the history of Soviet cultural construction. The researchers are focussing on summing up the experience acquired in the organization and development of public education and science in Siberia.

The second block covers problems of protecting and developing cultural and historical areas and cultural and historical monuments under conditions of intensive industrial and transport construction. In accordance with the Law on the Protection and Utilization of Historical and Cultural Monuments, the work program in this area calls for the intensification of restricted archeological digs, undertaking extensive surveys in the areas of new Siberian construction projects, identification of monuments, their registration and classification and drafting historical-archeological maps of the various Siberian areas. A major undertaking in this project also involves the creation of landscape and historical-cultural preserves and open-air museums. The materials of the studies and expeditions have been assembled in a number of collections of articles and monographs which are being prepared for publication.

The results of the studies made by historians based on the "Siberia" program have been repeatedly summed up at specially convened conferences involving the participation not only of historians but also of natural scientists, economists and practical workers in social management. Specific recommendations and suggestions have been formulated through joint efforts. Similar programs are being implemented by other scientific centers in the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Central Asia, the Caucasus and the Baltic area.

As elsewhere in the country, the institutes and establishments of the USSR Academy of Sciences History Department has undertaken in recent months extensive efforts relative to the study of pre-congress documents. This is directly related to the study of the situation in each specific sector and is aimed at identifying and utilizing reserves, eliminating existing shortcomings and maximally mobilizing all resources and possibilities, the human factor above all, for the implementation of the party's tasks, and reviewing plans for scientific research thus making them consistent with the tasks.

The role of the science of history has increased in shaping the Marxist-Leninist outlook and in educating the Soviet people in the spirit of labor, revolutionary, combat and patriotic traditions. In recent years the dissemination and popularization of historical knowledge has been carried out by Soviet historians in coordination with the Komsomol Central Committee (this includes materials for the Soviet Preparations Committee for the 12 World Youth and Student Festival), the mass information media, the creative associations and organizations and the publishing houses (including reviews, consultations and participation in preparations for filming "Strategy of Victory," the building of an architectural-sculptural ensemble-monument to the victory in the Great Patriotic War and the State Museum of the Defense of Moscow and the publication of the multiple-volume anthology of the Great Patriotic War entitled "Crown of Glory," essays on "Heroes of Fiery Years," and "History," a collection of popular science essays). More popular science works are being published on historical topics and of an encyclopedic nature, such as "The Civil War and Military Intervention in the USSR," and "The Great Patriotic War 1941-1945." Soviet historians actively participated in lectures and anniversary and other activities, including those related to the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR and the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War, the 600th anniversary of the Kulikovo Battle, the 800th anniversary of the "Lay of the Host of Igor," etc.

Soviet historical science bears great responsibility for the patriotic and international upbringing of the young generation in the land of the Soviets. We must continue tirelessly to promote the inseparable combination of the Soviet person's love for the homeland of the October Revolution, the land where he was born and grew up, and his pride in the historical accomplishments of the first socialist state in the world, with proletarian and socialist internationalism and class solidarity with fighters against imperialism and for peace and social progress.

In this respect the historians have accomplished a great deal. Nevertheless, by no means are we making full use of the tremendous opportunities provided by the mass information and propaganda media which, as stipulated in the draft new edition of the CPSU program, must intensify their role. The question of the imminent need for the publication of a popular science journal on problems of history has been repeatedly raised at general meetings of the USSR Academy of Sciences History Department and at meetings held at the department's institutes. In cooperation with Izdatelstvo Molodaya Gvardiya, a prototype for such a journal was prepared by historians: the popular science "Istoriya" [History] collection, which came out in 1985 in 100,000 copies and met with positive response among the readers, young people in particular. However, the

definitive decision on publishing such a periodical has still not been handed down by the Komsomol Central Committee and Goskomizdat. Gosteleradio as well is not hastening to implement the suggestions of historians on organizing a permanent popular science program on "Historians on the Television Screen" similar to programs such as "Travelers' Club," "Incredible But True," and others.

The draft new edition of the party program calls for tireless struggle against bourgeois and reformist ideology, revisionism and dogmatism. Like the works of all other Soviet social scientists, the books and articles by Soviet historians disseminate among the masses the truth of real socialism and the internal and external policy of the Soviet Union. They must actively propagandize the Soviet way of life and expose aggressively, and with proper argumentation, the antipeople's and inhuman nature of imperialism and its exploiting nature. By no means are we using all ways and opportunities to fight distortions and falsifications made by imperialist ideologists concerning domestic and universal history or informing the foreign public of the truth about the land of the soviets.

Experience in participating in the work of international history congresses, which are held once every 5 years, indicates that the number of works by Soviet historians translated into foreign languages is clearly insufficient. This is a major hindrance in acquainting the foreign scientific public with the achievements of domestic historical science. Unfortunately, Izdatelstvo Progress pays little attention to the translation and publication of such works, while Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga does not disseminate the works of Soviet historians abroad as energetically as it should.

A more efficient results of the activities of the History Department institutes could be obtained by increasing the volume of their output. The possibilities of Izdatelstvo Nauka, however, allow it to publish no more than 50 percent of the works completed by the institutes. Furthermore, most of the historians' works, even those written on very topical subjects, are published in extremely limited editions. The department's institutes have inadequate printing and duplicating and technical facilities.

Naturally, it would be erroneous to claim that the development of the science of history is hindered exclusively by shortcomings of a technical nature. Historians have no reasons whatsoever to rest on their laurels. The party calls upon us critically to interpret the current situation, to reject placidity and decisively to undertake the solution of urgent problems.

Comrade Ye.K. Ligachev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, justifiably emphasized that "the profound reorganization of the work on the basis of objective and self-critical evaluation of accomplishments and of intentions for the immediate future, initiated by the will of the party, should not be limited merely to the economy but must encompass all realms of social life. This applies to the humanities as well, the social sciences, culture, and literature and the arts above all. Nevertheless, so far such reconstruction is taking place too slowly, by the scientific institutes in the various sectors of our social sciences, the central culture authorities and establishments and the creative



associations. We are obviously short of criticism and self-criticism which has always been an efficient catalyst for the communists in order to accelerate such processes" (KOMMUNIST No 16, 1985, p 88).

We have no right to ignore the many serious shortcomings and omissions in the work of Soviet historians, recurrences of erroneous concepts, which were rejected by science long ago, and manifestations of parochial and nationalistic trends and evaluations. Thus, for example, some authors try to turn the science of history back to concepts more than 50 years old, declining to define the early-class structure of the feudal state and its functions in Kiev Rus. Some historians in union and autonomous republics are engaged in a pointless debate concerning the ethnic history of their peoples, trying to prove the maximal "antiquity" of contemporary ethnic groups. We also come across repeated cases of groundless exaggeration of the role of some past personalities, ignoring the principles of historicism and class approach to phenomena under consideration.

Problems of the history of capitalist and precapitalist socioeconomic systems on Soviet territory remain relevant. There is a ground for discussion here on a number of problems and some topics which have been poorly studied. The problem of the correlation between the levels of development of Russia and other European countries has been considered one-sidedly in some works, and compared solely to the most developed Western European countries. One-sidedness also appears with the tendency to see in prerevolutionary Russia nothing but the policemen of Europe, the colonizer of the Caucasus and Central Asia, or else, conversely to idealize its foreign policy as a whole. All of this proves the need for extensive comparative-historical studies in order to expose the antiscientific nature of all sorts of versions promoted by bourgeois historiography on Russia's age-old "backwardness," "barbarism" and "aggressiveness." In this sense, it is important comprehensively to indicate the place and role of prerevolutionary Russia and, particularly, its progressive and democratic forces in European, Asian and world history, and to bring to light the natural development of the socio-antagonistic structure of Russian society, taking the influence of the center and the outlying areas on each-other into consideration. This enables us objectively to assess the importance of Great Russia in the development of the outlying areas, particularly that of the peoples of Siberia, the Caucasus and Central Asia, in accordance with Engels' familiar assessment provided as early as 1851: "...Russia indeed plays a progressive role in terms of the Orient.... Russia's rule plays a civilizing role in the areas of the Black and Caspian Seas and Central Asia..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 27, p 241).

The present most important task of the science of history is to provide a clearer and more efficient definition of its place and role in resolving the tremendous tasks set by the party for the next few years. Our country is entering a period of accelerated development based on a scientific program and on tremendous past accomplishments. The continuity of this line is emphasized in the programmatic documents drafted for the 27th Party Congress and the speeches by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

Soviet historians, who have rich experience, must reinterpret critically and self-critically the distance covered by domestic science, concentrating on the



solution of problems consistent with the new tasks set by the party. They must closely listen to critical remarks aimed at eliminating existing shortcomings and to suggestions on upgrading the conceptual role of the science of history in contemporary society.

At the same time, we have the right to demand of those who criticize our historical science clarity, concreteness and a constructive attitude. Unfortunately, of late, claiming to promote "the latest scientific thinking," some critics occasionally engage in writing something in the nature of "essays" containing nihilistic assessments of the contemporary state of Soviet historiography, denying its accomplishments. They are questioning the extensive work done by Soviet historians, who are blankly comprehensively of dogmatism, passive acceptance of reality, cultivation of conceptual conservatism and bookishness, and distortion of historical truth. Such "criticism," not addressed to anyone or aimed at anything in particular, does not contribute to the solution of the responsible problems confronting our science today. Whenever such "criticism" borrows, to one extent or another, elements from the methodology of "fashionable" Western historiographic schools, the result may be significant damage caused to the process of the further scientific interpretation of domestic and world history.

The further successes achieved by historians must contribute to creative debates on topical historical problems. However, extremely few such debates are taking place at institutes and scientific councils of the USSR Academy of Sciences History Department and in its journals, although the departmental bureau issued a recommended list of possible topics as early as 1983.

The History Departments institutes have still not become leading scientific centers in the study of domestic and universal history, archeology, ethnography, Oriental studies, Slavic and Balkan studies and military history in the full meaning of the term; their coordination with scientific centers in the individual republics, the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department and its branches, and the history chairs of VUZs is insufficient. These and other shortcomings were a topic of a serious discussion at the institutes and by the history department bureau in the course of discussing the preconference documents and at the accountability and election meetings of party organizations.

Further improvements must be made in the organizational structure of the institutes. This matter should draw the special attention of the administrations and party organizations of the institutes in connection with the new salary system being introduced for scientific workers.

Soviet historians must pay tireless attention to the further development of the rich topics described in Part 1 of the draft new edition of the CPSU program--"Transition from Capitalism to Socialism and Communism is the Main Content of the Contemporary Age." This includes the study of problems of capitalism, particularly in its final imperialist stage; the great mission of the working class in the revolutionary reorganization of the old and the building of the new society; the activities of the Bolshevik Party, the appearance of which became a turning point in the history of the Russian and international workers movements; and the course of the struggle waged by the

Leninist Party against capitalist power. The Great October Socialist Revolution laid the beginning of an insurmountable process: the replacement of capitalism with a new communist socioeconomic system. We are facing the tremendously important task of comprehensively describing the historical experience of the state of proletarian dictatorship, its domestic and foreign policy, the implementation of the Leninist line of building socialism, the country's industrialization, agricultural collectivization, the cultural revolution and the solution of the national problem--all of which enabled us to accomplish a social turn of universal historical significance, to put an end once and for all to the age-old domination of private ownership and to eliminate the exploitation of man by man. Another major task for historians is to bring to light the labor exploit of the Soviet people who had already essentially built a socialist society on the eve of the Great Patriotic War.

The Soviet historians, who have written a number of outstanding works on the history of the last war, still owe a great debt to its participants and will persistently continue their efforts to bring to the present generations the truth of the events of those heroic years.

The historians must pay close attention to the development of Soviet society in the postwar period, when within an extremely short time the country was able to heal the most severe wounds inflicted by the war and to strengthen its economic, scientific and technical and defense potential and international positions, a period during which socialism in the USSR achieved full and definitive victory and during which the Soviet people were faced with the task with comprehensively perfecting socialist society and ensuring the fuller and more efficient utilization of its possibilities and advantages.

The successful solution of the national problem, as it existed in Russia before the Great October Revolution, was one of the greatest accomplishments of the Soviet system in the course of building socialism. However, this by no means indicates that all aspects in the development of the nations on the regional and all-union level have become definitively exhausted. Problems of the dialectical interaction between the international and the national remain quite topical in the course of the advancement of socialist society. Some new problems arise in the development of national relations under present circumstances, the solution of which requires a profound and comprehensive scientific analysis and thoroughly substantiated practical recommendations.

One of the urgent tasks of Soviet historians is the need indicated by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev at the October 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum of depicting in full "the dialectical unity within the variety which permeates the entire living fabric of the real socialist world, the worker and communist and national liberation movements and all movements opposing reaction and aggression and fighting for peace and progress."

The draft new edition of the party program directs the social sciences to the intensification of the scientific study of the objective contradictions within socialist society and the formulation of substantiated recommendations for their solution and of reliable economic and social forecasts. A profound study must be made of the processes developing within the communist, workers and national-liberation movements. The course of global developments

formulates for mankind a number of problems of a global nature to which science must provide accurate and substantiated answers.

In assessing the status of Soviet historical science, we must single out unresolved problems, shortcomings and omissions. Further progress is inconceivable without the critical interpretation of the results of development and formulation of future prospects.

Problems related to the theory of the historical process are of particular significance. Unfortunately, we quite frequently come across formalistic quotation-mongering in theoretical problems. The authors of a number of works limit themselves to quoting numerous excerpts from various basic works and documents without undertaking their profound study and application to developed topics. The authors of large numbers of historical studies raise timidly few major theoretical problems for discussion.

Yet the steady enrichment and advancement of theoretical thinking, based on new documentary materials and consistent with the needs of social development, remain extremely important. We must see to it that each historical study (this particularly applies to basic problems) is a contribution to the development of the theory of the historical process.

We must further develop the application of the laws of dialectics in the study of the various trends and problems of historical science and determine the features of the interaction between economics and politics and between domestic and foreign policy. Using the experience of the past and of resolving contemporary problems, it is important to identify the mechanism of transition from one socioeconomic system to another, to study historical phenomena in their vertical and horizontal aspects and the hierarchy of historical facts and events, and to raise to a new level our concepts of phenomena existing at points where different systems intersect. A more profound study must be made of the interaction between the material and spiritual areas of human development.

Perfecting the methods applied in historical research is of major importance in upgrading their quality. Under today's circumstances of tempestuous scientific and technical progress, this involves the use of mathematical methods and computers in historical studies. Of late such methods are becoming increasingly widespread, particularly in the study of domestic history. They have enabled us to intensify our knowledge of a number of historical phenomena and processes. In this case the Soviet historians have convincingly proved the unquestionable advantages of the use of new methods based on Marxist-Leninist theory and the methodology of historical research.

Nevertheless, the use of mathematical methods has still not reached the necessary scope and depth. On the one hand, the historians themselves are being slow; on the other, proper material and technical facilities have not been provided for successful work in this area. With few exceptions, neither the history institutes within the Academy of Sciences nor the history departments of VUZs have their own computers, and are limited in the use of shared computer systems. Suitable measures must be taken in this connection. The successful use of mathematical methods and computers in historical studies

also requires the establishment of contacts and the organization of joint work between historians and mathematicians. Although some experience has been acquired in such contacts, said cooperation must be comprehensively expanded. We welcome in this connection the fact that mathematicians are addressing themselves to the study of historical phenomena and processes. However, we must emphasize that such efforts can be fruitful only by working jointly with historians. Unfortunately, some mathematicians have tried to deal with historical topics alone. In some cases this has led to incorrect elaborations and even errors. In pursuit of sensationalism and the absolutizing of mathematical methods some mathematicians have tried to prove that ancient history sources are medieval forgeries; others, conversely, have reconstructed in detail ancient events on the basis of rather scant specific historical data. Such mathematical "raids" on history can only discredit the important matter of the use of mathematical methods in historical research.

Claims that we are falling behind in the study of economic history have been voiced with increasing frequency in recent years. Let us caution against a somewhat simplistic approach to this problem. The study of economic factors in history, as we know, has always been one of the strongest features of Marxist historiography. Today we have many extensive works on socioeconomic history. Our lag is rather in the study of a number of internal aspects of development of the economy itself, particularly in connection with the formulation of new problems. It is important to pay attention to the history of production forces and production relations at different stages, structural changes in the various economic areas and problems related to economic crises and contradictions (in their historical aspect). We must improve the training of specialists in these and other areas.

Ecological problems as well are of essential significance. We are behind in the study of a number of historical-demographic problems, problems of family development, and others. Unfortunately, in recent years somewhat less attention has been paid to the study of a number of problems of political history of Russia and other countries. This applies to events in the 17th, 18th and 19th Centuries.

We know that in the past 10 to 15 years a number of interesting biographic works have been published in our country. This trend must be welcomed in every possible way. It is important to see the live and varied and historical process. We need persons, rather than schemes or abstract formulas. We need deeper and more varied studies on the history of domestic thinking and history of culture, particularly on matters of interaction between domestic thinking and the culture of different countries and areas. Major gaps exist in the study of the history of individual countries, problems and regions.

Many unresolved problems and omissions exist in the training of history cadres. Current specialization methods frequently result in training excessively specialized people. We have clearly lost the taste for the training of general historians who can provide broad historical summations. This quality must be developed from an early age. Naturally, this is no simple matter and requires a struggle against superficiality. We must develop in the young people a taste for the intensified study of general and specific historical problems.

Major problems arise in the cadre training in many disciplines. We have very few specialists in the so-called rare subjects, such as paleography, epigraphy, numismatics, diplomacy, papyrology and the study of a number of Oriental and ancient languages, such as Greek, Latin, Old-Slavic, and Old-Russian. We must substantially amend the practice of assigning to the head institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences History Department young researchers for postgraduate studies without the necessary competitive selection, as a result of which frequently those assigned to such institutions are unpromising individuals who, as a rule, fail to defend their candidate dissertations at the completion of their graduate studies.

The question of the place held by Soviet historians in world historical science has become particularly urgent in connection with the significant expansion of international relations among historical sciences and our participation in numerous congresses and conferences. The participation of a delegation of Soviet scientists in the 16th International Congress of Historical Sciences, which was held at the end of August 1985 in Stuttgart (FRG), indicated a trend of making research topics relevant has become clearly apparent in contemporary historical science abroad. Problems of the present are projected to the past and their influence leads to the appearance of new approaches and trends in historiography. We can clearly see in contemporary non-Marxist historiography an effort to find a universal theoretical system on the theoretical-methodological level. This largely explains the interest shown in the works of many major bourgeois historians of the past, such as Max Weber, and efforts to pit their views against Marxism-Leninism.

However, this also determines the growing interest in Marxist-Leninist theory displayed by many foreign scientists and the lessening of their attention paid to antihistorical structural elaborations and "traditional" history interpreted as the history of wars and politics and the strictly empirical description of events.

Another characteristic feature of the contemporary status of the science of history is an increased interest in the role of the social factor, making researchers study the life of ordinary people, the history of small marginal groups and of "ordinary life." In this case, however, we also see a trend toward individualizing study topics and concentrating on particulars, on small groups, while rejecting the full study of interrelationships among classes and social groups and their production relations.

The Stuttgart Congress proved that Marxist historians are on the cutting edge of this science in a number of topics. This applies, above all, to the methodological elaboration of the common problems of development of mankind. The Marxist-Leninist theory of socioeconomic systems is gaining increasing acceptance as the only truly integral interpretation of the universal historical process. At the congress Soviet historians proved their successes in the study of ancient, medieval and modern history and of many aspects of contemporary history, the history of the October Revolution in particular, of all periods of colonial policy and the national liberation struggle in Asian, African and Latin American countries.



The congress also indicated that Soviet scientists are still insufficiently developing the history of relations among man, society and the environment, problems of historical geography and demography, the history of trade, the family and various age and professional groups, and the condition of the health and psychological behavior of man, to which Western historiography is paying greater attention. Without exaggerating the importance of these factors in history, they should find their proper place in the studies made by Soviet historians.

The congress proved the need for paying closer attention to the study of non-Marxist trends in historical methodology and to intensifying the criticism of bourgeois historiography, particularly on the history of international relations and Soviet foreign policy. Soviet historians should also pay more attention to problems of the antiwar movement and the struggle for peace.

The first session of the newly created international commission on the history of the October Revolution, the work of which drew the extensive attention of the participants, was held at the Stuttgart Congress. Henceforth, topics dealing with the history of the Great October Revolution will be regularly discussed at international congresses of historical sciences.

Foreign specialists are showing great interest in the research done by Soviet historians. The National Committee of Historians in the USSR maintains regular scientific contacts with colleagues in the socialist countries and in many liberated and capitalist states. Problems of ancient, medieval, modern and most modern history are discussed at joint symposia, research methods are compared and historiographic work is being done.

We must also give further thought to upgrading the importance and influence of Soviet historical science and world historiography and the further growth of the efficiency of our international contacts.

Our further progress, the solution of the important and topical problems set by the party to Soviet scientists and surmounting existing difficulties and shortcomings will enable us to enhance even further the prestige of Soviet historical science and its role and significance in world historiography.

The study of the development of historical research in different countries and the results of number of international meetings indicate that a process of intensified politization of historical science is comprehensively taking place. This has been manifested also in the formulation of a number of topics directly related to contemporary politics and the increased application of the lessons and experience of history to the present. It is the duty of Soviet historians to harness the entire potential of history and historical science in resolving problems of social progress and national liberation, in preventing a nuclear war and ensuring mankind's peaceful present and future.

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## THE ELDER OF THE ACADEMY

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[Article by Dr of Historical Sciences M. Vandalkovskaya and Academician A. Narochitskiy]

[Text] The name of Nikolay Mikhaylovich Druzhinin, the outstanding Soviet historian, is well known at home and abroad. The fundamental works he has written cover the most important problems of 18th-19th century Russian socioeconomic development, and the Russian revolutionary movement from the Decembrists' uprising to the 1890s. His works have been a tremendous contribution to the development of the Marxists-Leninist concept of the history of our homeland.

Today N. M. Druzhinin is the oldest full member of the USSR Academy of Sciences: he was 100 years old in January 1986. He is the bearer of three Orders of Lenin, a laureate of the Lenin and State Prizes and the recipient of many other awards. His career and scientific and teaching activities are an organic part of the history of the people of our country. It would be no exaggeration to describe Academician Druzhinin as a man of legendary fate. He was an active participant in the three Russian revolutions, the Civil War and the building of socialism in the young Soviet Republic. Druzhinin's work is inseparable from the progress of Soviet science and culture. That is why the publication of his selected works by Izdatelstvo Nauka (N. M. Druzhinin, "Izbrannyye Trudy" [Selected Works]. In four volumes. Volume 1. "The Revolutionary Movement in Russia in the 19th Century," Nauka, Moscow, 1985, 485 pp) fills an old need and is a major event in scientific life.

It was precisely N. M. Druzhinin's works which were the first to provide a most profound and accurate theoretical and factual substantiation of Soviet scientific periodization of capitalist relations in Russia in the 18th-19th centuries and of our contemporary concepts of the breakdown of the feudal-serfdom system. His studies proved that although the embryos of capitalist relations may be traced back to the 17th century, the capitalist system which had developed within feudal-serfdom Russia appeared only as of the second half of the 18th century. The symptoms of the initiated breakdown had become already apparent toward the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries and so had, in subsequent decades, the deep crisis in the autocratic-serfdom system.

Academician Druzhinin provided a scientific, accurate and clear comparative-historical study of the common features and characteristics of the origins and development of capitalism in Russia, Western Europe and the United States. He is credited with bringing to light the process of shaping of capitalist relations and the stratification of the peasantry in the postreform countryside of the 1860s-1880s and the obstructionist role of feudal vestiges in the country. His studies followed the course of the tremendous analytical work, the beginning of which was laid by V. I. Lenin in his famous work "Development of Capitalism in Russia." N. M. Druzhinin enriched Soviet science with fundamental works on the history of the serfs and state peasantry and of the peasant movements prior to the 1861 reform. His interest in socioeconomic history was based on his purposeful search for the reasons for and features of the development of the Russian revolutionary movement, the prerequisites for the three Russian revolutions and the victory of the Great October Revolution.

Druzhinin's life, which elevated him to the peaks of scientific knowledge and lead him to become widely and truly universally famous, is quite instructive and noteworthy. His scientific studies began with works on the activities of the Decembrists, the Russian revolutionary democrats and the Narodniks. The origins and development of the nobility and raznochintsy stages in the revolutionary movement and many other problems of the history of social thought in Russia can not be understood without his books.

N. M. Druzhinin proved himself a scientist of inordinate scope, as one of the greatest specialist not only in Russia's socioeconomic history but also in the domestic policies of the tsarist government. He profoundly analyzed the so called "enlightened absolutism" in 18th century Russia, the crisis in the autocratic-serfdom system and the 1860 reform, and many other problems of the development of social ideas and culture. He actively participated in the development of museums under the Soviet system. He organized cultural-education work and initiated and participated in many definitive collective scientific works. He trained several generations of Soviet historians. With their scientific substantiation, extensive use of Marxist-Leninist theory and broad summations, Druzhinin's talented outstanding books and articles are a major accomplishment of Soviet historical science and a school for young researchers. Academician Druzhinin has made a great contribution to the assertion of dialectical and historical-materialistic methodology in domestic science and in shaping a scientific Marxist-Leninist outlook.

Nikolay Mikhaylovich Druzhinin was born on 13 January 1886 in Kursk. His years of schooling at Moscow High School No 5 and, subsequently, Moscow University, coincided in time with the social upsurge of the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries and the first Russian revolution. It was precisely at that time that Druzhinin developed his scientific and political outlook. As an adolescent he began to attend clandestine meetings of Moscow high school students, in which the objectives and tasks of the struggle waged by the Russian revolutionaries against autocracy and problems of political life were being discussed. Nikolay Mikhaylovich was caught by the police attending one such clandestine meeting and temporarily expelled from school.

It was already then that he became interested in history, particularly in the sources of social inequality and oppression. The revolutionary nature of the age quickly lead this youngster, with his highly developed feeling of social justice, into sociopolitical activities, making him think of the historical experience of the revolutionary struggle and developing in him a class-oriented perception of events.

In 1905 19-year old Druzhinin was actively participating in student meetings and demonstrations and meetings against the Russo-Japanese War. He excitedly listened to the writer Leonid Andreyev read in his apartment the anti-war story "Red Laughter." He attended clandestine meetings where he proved in his speeches the inevitable collapse of the tsarist regime.

In the autumn of 1904 Nikolay Mikhaylovich met Inessa Armand, who had returned from Switzerland and had engaged in revolutionary propaganda in Russia. On her suggestion, together with N. M. Lukin, who was to become a noted historian, he engaged in propaganda work for the Moscow RSDWP Committee. Druzhinin became the custodian of its secret library.

The arrest of I. Armand in February 1905 lead to Druzhinin's arrest as well. In the course of the search, the police found clandestine publications in his apartment. The youngster was expelled from the university and sent to the Taganskaya prison. Two months later he was exiled under police supervision to Saratov. Through his party contacts Nikolay Mikhaylovich established secret contacts with the Saratov social democratic organization and joined the Bolsheviks. The Saratov RSDWP committee appointed him rayon organizer in Melnichnyy Rayon, one of the three of the then clandestine organization in the city. Here Druzhinin distributed clandestine publications, helped to organize propaganda circles and mass meetings, organized strikes and created trade unions. He participated in the drafting of leaflets in which he promoted the idea of the need to combine political with economic struggle. In Saratov Nikolay Mikhaylovich became close to the workers and observed first hand the fast awakening of their class consciousness. His revolutionary activities were interrupted in July 1905 by another detention for participating in preparing a rebuff to the reactionary Black Hundred pogrom. Released from jail, he resumed his revolutionary activities and spoke at meetings in which he exposed the half-way measures of the 17 October 1905 tsarist manifesto and called for convening a constituent assembly and preparing for an armed uprising.

During the December armed uprising, having received the password and the address of a safe house from the Saratov Bolsheviks, Nikolay Mikhaylovich was able to stay briefly in Moscow. He drafted a comprehensive report on the Moscow uprising for the Saratov committee. This was the first essay of the future scientist, the first historical work he created under the immediate impression of events. Soon afterwards, N. M. Druzhinin was able to return to Moscow but was forced to hide from the police.

In Moscow Druzhinin resumed his revolutionary work initially as organizer in Rogozhskiy Rayon and, subsequently, as agitator for the Moscow committee. He was also in charge of bookkeeping for the Bolshevik newspaper SVETOCH. Together with the Bolsheviks he participated in boycotting the first State

Duma, participated in preparations for the nomination of delegates to the 4th RSDWP Congress and spoke on political events at meetings and gatherings.

N. M. Druzhinin re-enrolled at the university in the autumn of 1906 in the economics department of the juridical faculty and, subsequently, the history department of the historical-philological faculty. His experience in the revolutionary struggle made him aware of the need for economic knowledge in order to understand the course of the historical process and to study legal relations. He was attracted by topics related to socioeconomic development, the situation of the workers, and legislation pertaining to women's and child labor. At the university Druzhinin thoroughly studied K. Marx's "Das Kapital," and taught history at worker courses and the tailors' trade union.

In 1916, on the eve of his graduation examinations, Nikolay Mikhaylovich was drafted in the armed forces and assigned to the Aleksandrovskeye Military School, where he was given accelerated military training. He was commissioned ensign and assigned to the headquarters of one of the regiments in the Moscow Military District and, subsequently, the 24th Reserve Regiment in Mariupol. His speeches to the soldiers, in which he condemned autocracy, made him popular among those in the regiment who had revolutionary leanings. After the February revolution, Druzhinin was elected chairman of the regimental committee of the 24th Reserve Regiment. Nikolay Mikhaylovich was a member of the city-wide committee of social organizations in Mariupol and became a member of the Mariupol Executive Committee of the Soviet of Worker and Soldier Deputies. He was also elected deputy chairman of the new city management. It was thus that Nikolay Mikhaylovich became active participant in the turn taking place among the soldiers toward the implementation of Bolshevik slogans. At the joint meeting of revolutionary organizations in Mariupol, Druzhinin was elected head of military operations should the Kornilov forces advance toward the city.

After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Nikolay Mikhaylovich was elected deputy chairman of the leading political party--the joint committee of Mariupol revolutionary organizations--headed by the Bolsheviks.

Discharged in 1918, Druzhinin returned to the university and began his studies for an academic career. During the Civil War, in 1919, he was drafted into the Red Army. The Moscow and Moscow Guberniya Military Commissariat assigned him to the political-education department. His organizational work included lecturing on the life of Marx, the labor movement in Russia, the historical prerequisites for the Great October Revolution, the domestic policy of the land of the soviets and its international situation.

The transition of the country to peace-time construction raised the question of restoring and building the socialist economy and promoting the cultural-political education of the masses. After his service at the military commissariat, Nikolay Mikhaylovich worked for the guberniya public education system, the Institute for Methods of Extracurricular Work of the People's Commissariat of Education and the USSR Museum of the Revolution as scientific secretary and, subsequently, department head. In 1929 he defended his candidate dissertation on "The Decembrist Nikita Muravyev," which was

subsequently published as a monograph. The 19th century revolutionary movement and, particularly, the participation of the Decembrists in it, became one of the leading trends in his subsequent studies.

The party and government decrees of 1934-1936 on the teaching of history in Soviet schools, writing history textbooks, work in higher educational institutions and higher school leadership, demanded the reorganization of the entire science of history, including the system of history studies, the training of new cadres and perfecting the teaching of historical subjects. The writing of textbooks and definitive works on domestic and universal history became necessary. Nikolay Mikhaylovich contributed a great deal to the implementation of these tasks: he participated in the writing of new textbooks and multiple-volume publications and taught extensively at the Moscow University, Moscow City Pedagogical Institute, the Military-Political Academy imeni V. I. Lenin, and the higher courses organized by the Communist Party of Belorussia Central Committee.

During the Great Patriotic War, Nikolay Mikhaylovich took part in the writing and publication of antifascist pamphlets and method aids for teachers of history in wartime conditions. He taught at the higher courses of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee, lectured at military schools and hospitals, while continuing to write his extensive work on state-indentured peasants.

In 1944 N.M. Druzhinin defended his doctoral dissertation on "State Peasants and P.D. Kiselev's Reform." He had worked on this subject for more than 20 years and was the first to describe the features of this category of peasants who were considered legally free but, in reality, were under the feudal jurisdiction of the state. Druzhinin emphasized in his work the common features of the socioeconomic and legal status of peasants indentured to the estates and to the state, although the feudal oppression of the state-indentured peasants was somewhat lessers.

Nikolay Mikhaylovich Druzhinin was elected corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences in 1946. One year after completing his work on the state peasants and P.D. Kiselev's Reform, he was awarded the USSR State Prize. He gave the money to the children's home in the Nudol settlement, Novopetrovskiy Rayon, Moscow Oblast, where 75 orphans who had lost their parents during the Great Patriotic War were cared for.

N.M. Druzhinin did exceptionally fruitful and comprehensive work at the USSR Academy of Sciences History Institute in a postwar years. He worked hard on the creation of the collective works "History of Moscow," "History of the USSR," "Outlines of USSR History," "History of Russian Culture" and "Materials on the History of USSR Agriculture and the Peasantry," and the writing of a major documentary series on "the Peasant Movement in Russia in the 19th and Beginning of the 20th Centuries," which is a valuable collection of sources for the study of the class struggle. Nikolay Mikhaylovich's elevation the status of full member of the USSR Academy of Sciences in 1953 was in recognition of his special scientific merits.



In 1978 Druzhinin published the monograph "The Russian Countryside In Crisis. 1861-1880," which was a continuation of his study of socioeconomic processes in the postreform Russian countryside. The book provides a profound and comprehensive study of the country's agriculture and traces the development of production forces, the dissemination of commodity-monetary relations, the processes of breakdown of the peasantry and changes in the forms of the class struggle; it brings to light the prerequisites for the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. This work was awarded the Lenin Prize.

Nikolay Mikhaylovich's book "A Historian's Memoirs and Thoughts," which has had two editions in the USSR and has been published in the FRG, is of major scientific and educational importance. In a vivid and original style, the book describes the career and creative accomplishments of the scientist, which are inseparable from the country's life. As a model of scientific autobiography, this book contains valuable data on the shaping of this historian's sociopolitical and scientific views, his creative laboratory and work methodology.

To this day Nikolay Mikhaylovich is actively engaged in scientific work, training new generations of Soviet historians and enriching them with his profound knowledge and research skills. The personality of this scientist, alien to manifestations of careerism, boastfulness and a bureaucratic approach to science, has a tremendous moral impact on those around him.

The first volume of N.M. Druzhinin's selected works includes articles on the history of the Russian revolutionary movement. His articles on the Decembrists (N. Muravyev, P. Pestel, S. Trubetskoy and I. Yakushkin and the Chernyshev family), the Russian revolutionary democrats and the NARODNAYA VOLYA activists, reflect the Leninist concept of the first stages of the Russian revolutionary movement. These works, which were published primarily in the 1930's displayed the features of his scientific method: profound, accurate and detailed study of historical events and activities of individual personalities and the ability to see in them the manifestation of objectively determined patterns.

The comprehensive study of the Decembrist movement was consistent with the requirements of the science of history at that time, which called for getting rid of far-fetched abstract sociological schemes and countering them with the study of rich factual data. Druzhinin's study of the views and the lives of individual members of the Decembrist movement are distinguished by their class-oriented approach to the study of historical data, indicating the unbreakable ties between the Decembrist movement and Russian reality and bringing to light the sources of the Decembrist movement as an ideological trend which combined the achievements of Russian and West European social thinking. Nikolay Mikhaylovich originated the development of the broad concept of the Decembrist movement as a political phenomenon not limited merely to the events on Senatskaya Square on 14 December 1825.

N.M. Druzhinin's earlier works dealt with the ideas of the Russian revolutionary democrats concerning the peasant community in Russia. He provided a profound description of the revolutionary and socialist nature of their views on the community, proving the existence of a radical difference



between this concept and the reactionary views of the advocates of serfdom concerning the communal customs in the countryside.

The populist stage in the liberation struggle is presented in the book in articles on the life and activities of A. V. Yakimova, member of the NARODNAYA VOLYA Executive Committee. It is through the biography of this active participant in the revolutionary movement that Druzhinin considers the broad background of the social struggle waged at that time and describes the various trends of popular thinking and NARODNAYA VOLYA activities. The article brings to light the reasons for the conversion of the revolutionary movement to political struggle and indicates the direct link between groundless terrorist methods used by NARODNAYA VOLYA and populist ideology.

Nikolay Mikhaylovich has always linked his scientific work with the practices of the revolutionary struggle which has invariably nurtured his interest in history. He considers the science of history a means of understanding the laws of social development and the vital tasks of our time and a means of expressing his active life stance. Academician N.M. Druzhinin's socio-political and scientific activities are suitably expressed in his works which are a significant contribution to the development of domestic historical science.

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## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### MORE ON COMPUTER TECHNOLOGY

MOSCOW KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 86 (signed to press 2 Jan 86) pp 113-114

[Letter to the editor by Academician A. Tikhonov, dean of the department of computer mathematics and cybernetics, Moscow State University]

[Text] In V. Vinokurov's and K. Zuyev's article under the heading "Topical Problems of Development of Computer Equipment" (KOMMUNIST No 5, 1985), a wide range of questions related to the production and application of computer technology are timely raised. It combines a professional and competent analysis of the development of computer equipment with a party-minded, concerned approach and a sensible, constructive evaluation of the present state of affairs in this field. I share the authors' positions on the need for the fastest possible comprehensive solution to the urgent problem of the production and utilization of computer devices.

The special urgency of work on training and retraining cadres in new professions born of scientific and technical development was noted in comrade M.S. Gorbachev's report at a CPSU Central Committee conference on questions of accelerating scientific and technical progress. At the end of the 1960s, in connection with the growth of the significance of computers, I was one of the initiators of the widespread training of cadres in our country, with the goal of developing the technology of computer application in the national economy and in scientific and technical activities. A new specialty was introduced -- "0647--applied mathematics". In a number of VUZs, new departments were organized to provide training in this subject. A department of computer mathematics and cybernetics was formed at Moscow State University. In preparing the training courses and organizing the curriculum, we proceed from the experience of our country's largest scientific and production collectives.

The application of computers in solving any specific problem consists of a number of stages, the most important of which are the creation of a mathematical model of the object which takes account of the available information, the study of tasks which arise during research on the mathematical model, the selection of a solution algorithm, writing the program, systems support, calculations and the study of results. A sound knowledge of all these stages is necessary for every specialist who actively uses computers. Knowledge of the technology of comprehensive use of computers acquires all the more significance. Lately, in connection with "computer

literacy" propaganda, training in the use of computers is often reduced to training in the basics of programming. Such a point of view is overly simplistic, not taking the complexity of modern scientific and technological problems into consideration.

The organization of computer peripherals which ensures their continuous and highly productive operation is extremely important. For this, the activity of service organizations should be evaluated by the users in such a way that their evaluations will affect the basic economic indicators of these organizations. However, the creation of economic levers is only one aspect of the question. The efficient use of computer technology in the national economy and in scientific research is possible only in those cases where highly skilled specialists provide for the entire set of operations performed with the use of computers. Such specialists include computer electronics engineers to provide for the computer's functioning, systems programming specialists for creating and improving software, computer mathematics specialists, together with representatives of the subject area of knowledge, for creating mathematical models of the studied processes, for developing efficient methods of solving mathematical problems, for writing programs for the computer, and for the subsequent processing and interpretation of results.

Thanks to the rapid progress of computer technology, not only machines themselves are being qualitatively changed, but also the technology of their use in the national economy. Such updating occurs every 7-10 years. Therefore, along with the training of young specialists in the indicated directions, it is necessary to constantly increase the skills of specialists with practical experience. Finally, the proper and efficient use of computers is possible only under the condition that engineering and technical and managerial personnel in various fields have mastered the basics of computer knowledge.

Unfortunately, currently even in organizations and enterprises which have already acquired some experience in using computers, there is no clear understanding of things things such as the type of computer hardware they need, how many coworkers and what skills are required to ensure a full workload and efficient operation of the computer. Frequently, the organization managers strive to recruit a few more "programmers" in general. However, fairly narrow specialization takes place among highly skilled specialists in computer utilization. Ignoring this leads to the fact that the potentials of both specialists and computer technology are being far from fully displayed. Along with the shortage of highly skilled cadres, we encounter their inefficient use and assignment.

The planning system for training and assigning young applied mathematics specialists was, on the whole, spontaneously formed based on the demands of sectorial ministries. However, since the sectorial ministries really do not bear the financial or material expenses of training VUZ graduates, they departments have no real interest in their economical use. As a result, the ministries often make overstated demands for graduates in scarce fields. Thus, the shortage of cadres highly skilled in computer use arises largely due to the imperfect planning of their assignment. For example, the USSR and RSFSR ministries of education, despite a drastic shortage of highly skilled

applied mathematics specialists in outlying VUZs, made almost no demands over a number of years upon the department of computer mathematics and cybernetics for assigning its graduates there.

Retraining and increasing the skills of cadres engaged in using computers to solve problems in the national economy, in scientific and technical progress and in the development of computer software, is widely carried out in the department. The purpose of the special night school is to increase the skills of persons who have 3 years' experience in practical work in the field of applied mathematics. Students at the special night school for retraining scientific and engineering and technical cadres in the field of applied mathematics obtain general mathematical and specialized training in the context of Specialty 0647. A considerable part of the training process consists of special seminars and the fulfillment of thesis work, the theme of which is determined by the student's job. Let us note that a significant share of the thesis work is related to creating automated design systems (SAPR), to the development of information systems in machine building and economics, and to resolving optimization engineering problems. Presently, it is also necessary to increase the number of highly trained specialists using computers, in addition to retraining engineering and technical cadres.

Much work is being done in the department on increasing the skills of the country's VUZ teachers in the field of computer mathematics and software. In accordance with the party and government resolution on the development of computer technology and its use in the national economy, as well as in connection with the reform of general educational and vocational schools, the department is carrying out the training of educators in the country's pedagogical VUZs in the course "Foundations of Information Science and Computer Technology", as well as organizing basic, elementary training in the field of computer mathematics for teachers and students in MGU's natural sciences and humanities departments.

Among the basic difficulties of our work is the department's inadequate supply of computer equipment, as well as its unreliability. For VUZs which train specialists in computer use, today's waste of computer equipment is telling upon the quality of their work and will result in multiple losses in all of the national economy in the near future.

Student training should be done using up-to-date equipment. Their knowledge will be fully valuable only in this case. Unfortunately, for the time being we are training specialists with equipment which is already obsolete. It is necessary for Gosplan and the sectorial ministries which develop, produce or acquire modern series computer equipment to provide the latest models to the VUZs which train the specialists they employ.

It is extremely important, in my opinion, that the questions of software development are raised in the article. Presently, its creation is being converted into a large economic sector. However, there are still fairly large unresolved problems here (redundancy of work tolerated on a tremendous scale, cost estimates of major programs, rules and conditions for their transmission, copyright questions, etc.). Software has become a commodity item in the world market. This fact should also be taken into consideration in our practice.

It is necessary to create a system of industrial production software for computers in our country. I think that this is the only way it is possible to achieve wide distribution of modern computer application technology and to eliminate the dissipation of forces and resources.

As comrade M. S. Gorbachev noted at the 11 June 1985 CPSU Central Committee conference, computer technology is one of the catalysts of modern scientific and technical progress. Therefore, the skilled and party-minded discussion of topical problems, related to the application of computers, in KOMMUNIST will promote the elimination of shortcomings and "bottlenecks" and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

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## THE RUSSIAN NORTH AS A MONUMENT OF DOMESTIC AND WORLD CULTURE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 86 (signed to press 2 Jan 86) pp 115-119

[Letter to the editors by Academician D. Likhachev and USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member V. Yanin, members of the Presidium of the Central Council of the All-Russian Society for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments]

[Text] The draft new edition of the CPSU program points out that the party will continue to be concerned with the aesthetic upbringing of the working people with the help of the best models of domestic and world culture. The preservation of the priceless monuments of the people's creativity, with which our country is so rich, is of major importance in resolving this highly humane and noble problem. They include truly unique creations of the human mind, coming from the huge spaces of the Russian North, which have reached us from the depth of centuries, mainly the areas of Arkhangelsk and Vologoda Oblasts and the basins of rivers flowing into the White Sea. This includes examples of architecture, graphic arts and crafts, and works of epic and musical folklore. Put together, all of this appears like a single ensemble.

Could this huge area, whose size equals that of several European countries combined, be considered a single monument of culture? Thousands of fully and partially discovered first-rate monuments are located here, and no one knows how many more will be discovered and studied. We are deeply convinced that this, precisely, should be the approach to Russian North, for despite the entire abundance and variety of its monuments, there is something integral and unifying here, which makes this area particularly valuable in terms of the thousands of years of Russian and other cultures.

### 1

Like anything suitable for human life, the territory of the Eurasian continent and the areas up to the White Sea have been targets of colonization from times immemorial. Many migratory waves crossed these lands, tribes and nations changed, influencing and mixing with each other.

The central part of the European North was initially settled approximately 8,000 years ago, immediately after the end of the ice age. The most valuable monuments of this period--peat sites--have been partially studied in recent



years along the banks of Lake Lacha. The moist peat has perfectly preserved items made of bone, horn, wood and bark, whereas at usual sites archaeologists can find stone tools only. Only two other such monuments are known in Europe, in Denmark and the FRG. Digs at peat sites at Lake Lacha offer convincing data for describing the various aspects of life of the most ancient inhabitants of the North--their economic activities, way of life, applied arts and religious beliefs. It has been established, as a result of such works in particular, that the central part of the European North was initially developed by Europeid inhabitants, who had moved here from the Baltic area, rather than from the Urals, as was previously believed.

Numerous monuments from the Neolithic and Bronze Ages were left by the ancestors of the Finno-Ugric peoples, who developed on territories which include the central part of the European North. For a long time these areas were the contact zone of Baltic-Finnish, Volga-Finnish and Perm tribes. Naturally, the discovery here of settlements and burial grounds dating from 3000 B.C. to 1000 B.C. are of prime interest in the study of Finno-Ugric ethnic history. Archaeologists from many countries, whose efforts are coordinated by a special international commission, are engaged in the study of this difficult problem.

The arrival of Slavs in these areas marked a new stage in the history of the Maritime area and the areas adjacent to it. As we know, their penetration of the North began at the end of the 10th Century. The result of this process was the development of a permanent Russian population and this entire huge area became part of Rus state territory.

Systematic research and digs of early medieval monuments, undertaken less than 20 years ago, provided documentary proof of the fact that a large mass of settlers appeared in the North between the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th Centuries, who had moved here from the South and the West. In subsequent centuries, Russian people came to these areas also from Novgorod and from the "lowlands"--from the areas of Moscow, Tver and Yaroslavl. They brought with them the traditions of farming although also engaging in hunting fur animals, and the fur trade, trying to make maximal use of the natural resources of the area they were developing.

Studies have indicated that Slavs and the Finno-Ugric population did not settle separately in the North; here the various ethnic groups mixed rapidly. For example, Russians easily cohabited with the "wild Lapps," with "Karelians" and "Samoyeds." Many of the cultural elements of the local Finno-Ugric population organically blended with the ancient Russian culture which developed in the North. The interaction between Slavic and Finnish traditions was manifested most clearly in female clothing. It turned out that such clothing, now reconstructed on the basis of burial objects, invariably included decorations made of metal of Slavic and Finno-Ugric types, which became quite typical even in Novgorod culture. Some such decorations are considered first-rate examples of applied medieval art.

The areas covering the basins of Lakes Beloye, Lacha and Vozhe were not only the final target of the Slavs moving northward, but also characteristic "gates" leading to the northern areas. The major waterways which linked

Novgorod and Rostov with the remote areas beyond the Volga passed through them. The portage of the Beloye Lake to the riverine systems of the Onega and Northern Dvina played a key role along these roads. The oldest settlements discovered here were traced to the 11th Century. An entire nest of medieval settlements and burial grounds has been discovered in the Voloka Slavyanskiy area, between Lakes Sheksnoy and Kubenskiy. It was discovered that in this microregion, which had been traditionally considered the center of the Slavic settlements, Finno-Ugric groups, which had firmly preserved their ethnic traditions, had lived here in the 12th Century side by side with the Slavs.

The initial settling of Russian people in the North was related to industrial and mercantile interests. However, by the 14th-15th Centuries, the Russian population which had settle here had increased manifold and, starting with the end of the 15th Century, while still under the domination of the Novgorod boyars, extensive grain farming began to develop here. Land was plowed along the Vaga, Dvina, Kokshenga and Pinega. In the 16th Century grain grown in the North was shipped to Moscow and other "lowland" cities.

All settlements and, with them, architectural monuments of the North are along rivers for the reason that they were the main arteries of communication and that the main fertile lands which enabled the North to supply central Russia with rye, barley, oats and other comestible goods during critical periods, were located here.

After the peasants, the development of the northern land and arable areas was undertaken by the Novgorod boyars and, starting with the end of the 14th Century, the monasteries. According to S.F. Platonov, 150 desert and 104 urban and suburban monasteries were built in the North between the 14th and the 16th Centuries.

Although, naturally, the peasantry depended on the boyars and the monasteries, such dependency was substantially lesser than in central Russia, where serfdom was being increasingly practiced. In cases of great dissatisfaction the artisans and peasants in the Maritime area could always hide in the impassable thickets and along the seashore.

Monasteries were built exclusively along the river banks, which were convenient arteries; furthermore, the chernozems could be found here as well. The soil was particularly rich in chernozem along the banks of the Sheksna and Sukhona, Lake Kuben, and Lacha, Onega and Vozhe lakes. These were the main arteries leading to the White Sea and to the center, as confirmed by the following significant fact: the Moscow Simonov and Troitse-Sergiyev and the Suzdal Spaso-Yevfimiye monasteries had landed estates in Belozerskiy Kray.

After the monasteries, Moscow princes began to seize land in Belozerskiy Kray, annexing it, at first partially then totally, to the Moscow Principality under Ivan III.

When Moscow annexed Novgorod in the 15th Century, it resettled its boyars and made farmers and artisans "orphans of the great Moscow lord," i.e., peasants living on state land.

The seizure of the "black" lands by the monasteries in the 15th-16th Centuries met with the fierce opposition of the peasantry. This is confirmed by the large number of court cases instigated by the peasants, particularly in Belozerskiy Kray. It is true that all such cases were settled by the courts in favor of the monasteries. Nevertheless, they proved the high legal awareness of the northern farmers. Another proof is found in various boundary arguments and cases of unauthorized "crossing" of monastery boundaries. The opposition of the peasants were so strong that by the 17th Century monasteries were virtually unable to expand their property by seizing peasant land.

Peasants were equally active in their opposition to the landowners, refusing to hire out. Such was the situation at the beginning of the 17th Century and later. As a result, land, in Charonda, for example, virtually stopped being allocated.

2

The specific nature of human life under the conditions of the North led to the development of a particular type population. Generation after generation, the people who grew here were strong, firm of spirit, enterprising and freedom loving. Who went to Grumant (Spitzbergen), founded Mangazeya and opened the distant lands in the East, all the way to Alaska? These were the pioneers born in Totma, Velikiy Ustyug and other cities and villages of the Russian North. Tempered by the harsh nature, enduring, daring, initiative-minded and proud, unfamiliar with the debasement of serfdom, and foreign conquests, the Northerners frequently helped Russia.

Regiments of the princes of Belozersk, Kemsk, Andomsk and Yaroslavl fought at the battle of Kulikovo Pole. It was precisely these regiments that a chronicler described as follows: strong and courageous in battle. It was here, in the North, that the Moscow princes came to recruit soldiers to rescue Moscow from the raids of the Horde. The entire northern "peasant world" served "with its heads," "lances and swords" in the defense of the state. Northerners firmly defended their own lands as well from "Sveyskiye and Kayanskiye Germans," who were raiding them from the west. During the "times of trouble," at the beginning of the 17th Century, foreigners tried to conquer the very rich Vologoda area and the entire Russian North. However, the Northerners bravely defended themselves against the aggressors and later generously gave money to the Russian state which had been ruined by the invasion. The development of Siberia is related to the Stroganovs and their extremely rich Solvychevodskiy farm.

It was precisely the Northerners or, more accurately, the people of the Maritime area in Russia to whom Russia of Peter the Great owes its sea victories. Peter created a navy in the North, subsequently transferred along the "state road" to Lake Onega and, subsequently, along the Svira and the Neva. Europeans were amazed at the manner in which these small galleys built by Peter were able to defeat the first-rate Swedish sailboats at the Hanko Battle. What made this initial and unparalleled Russian victory in the Baltic Sea possible? The reasons are numerous. One of the main ones, however, was the fact that the oars were manned by Maritime people. Subsequently they

splendidly coped with the most complex sails of the Russian ships in the White, Azov, Baltic, Black and Mediterranean seas.

The Northern regiments helped Russia to repel Napoleon's 1812 invasion and firmly fought at the fronts of World War I. In 1941 it was the Northern and Siberian divisions, in which the descendants of the ancient pioneers served, that struck at the Hitlerite armies at Moscow, as part of the armies of the Western Front.

The Maritime area gave the Russian people not only courageous discoverers and soldiers but also thousands of nameless creators of national culture, builders of cities, monasteries and temples, storytellers, singers, musicians and creators of original picturesque speech.

To this day our contemporaries are amazed at the architectural monuments built by their predecessors.

A short article does not permit even a superficial description of the most valuable significance of monument complexes, such as the Solovetskiy and Kirillov monasteries, Totma, Vologda with its fortress, the Spaso-Prilutskiy Monastery, Velikiy Ustyug and others.

For example, let us remember that the walls of the Solovetskiy Monastery-fortress are made of uncut rocks (some of which weigh up to 7 tons). They are not only exceptionally hard, unequal in Europe in their ability to withstand firepower. They are also an amazing monument of engineering. A hydroengineering system combining 52 lakes was built on the territory of the main island, in the middle of the 16th Century. Already then it had made it possible to mechanize some of the operations at the large forge, the brick and rope plants and a mill and a bakery, and make possible a fast-flooding ship repair yard. This is a unique set of engineering installations which refute philistine concepts of the technical backwardness of ancient Rus.

Beloozero, one of the most ancient Russian cities, which became an outpost of Northern Slavic settlements in the 11th Century, holds a special place among medieval monuments. This was a rich merchant and artisan city, the cultural stratum of which contains many thousands of different objects which enable us to restore quite extensively the picture of the way of life and economy of the Northerners at that time. Beloozero could be considered a center of the establishment of an outstanding and original Northern culture, in viewing and refracting various ethnic traditions. The aspect of the city and its layout are unusual and their analogs may be found only in other Northern cities. The great value of Beloozero as an archaeological monument is its unique state of preservation. The "Old City" was abandoned in the 14th Century while the "New City" (today's Belozersk) rose 18 kilometers to the west. No rebuilding was subsequently done at the "Old City," nor were any earth removal works carried out here.

One of the most interesting and noteworthy cities of the Russian North is Totma, on the Sukhona River. Its 17th-18th Century architecture shows rich individual features which could hardly be described as "provincial." The road to Arkhangelsk, the only 17th Century Russian Maritime port, which also led to

the Urals and Siberia, ran through Totma. Totma traded with Siberia and developed salt deposits. This was a rich city with a mobile and energetic population. That is why Totma's architecture is exceptionally interesting and original. As a whole, the city has been preserved as a cohesive architectural complex. All the necessary conditions must be provided to protect both it and its environment. Tourists will be visiting this city like they do cities in Italy.

The Russian North also includes the most famous Kargopol Vologda and Velikiy Ustyug, today familiar to any educated person..

The architectural and graphic art treasures of Ferapontov Monastery are universally famous. After the Hitlerites destroyed the Nereditskiye frescoes dating from the end of the 12th Century in Novgorod, the monastery now provides the most valuable monument of Russian frescoes (and one of the most valuable in the world!)--the Ferapontov murals.

However, the culture of the Russian North is not limited to architectural monuments (extremely beautiful houses, churches, monasteries, murals or examples of ancient Russian technology). This area is a true repository of the traditions of Russian folk culture. The absence of serfdom, the peculiar structure of the large peasant families (as a rule, families in the North did not split: married sons stayed home), and the harsh natural conditions, which had demanded the development of age-old labor skills, made the North the most important repository of peasant farming and seagoing, fishing and artisan traditions. Artisan skills, which have been preserved to the present, are exceptionally important.

The North has preserved for us the byliny of the Kiev and Novgorod cycles, lyrical songs, marriage ceremony poetry, and songs and outstanding way of speech in its numerous variants. All of this continues to serve Soviet culture as confirmed by the "rural prose" of Abramov, Rasputin, Belov, Astafyev and other writers related to the peasant North.

The North is the center of Russian choral culture, which plays such a significant role in Russian music (let us remember the choral bases in the works of Glinka, Musorgskiy, Rimskiy-Korsakov, Chaykovskiy, Shostakovich, Sviridov and Petrov). The amateur choirs, discovered by folklorists in the North, enrich our musical culture. Here huge centers of Russian written literature had developed in deep antiquity, such as the Kirillov, Ferapontov (where, incidentally, the official theory of the origins of Russian statehood was formulated), Valaam, Solovki and other monasteries. The North was developed not only with the help of metal and wooden plows, salt works and fishing and hunting but also with books. To the Northern population books were the main link with the homeland, strengthening their belief of their affiliation with the single Rus and their ties with the land of Kiev and Belorussia. That is precisely why to this day the North contains the treasuries of ancient Russian literature and the archaeological expeditions organized by Pushkin House, Leningrad and Moscow Universities and the manuscript departments of our largest libraries in Leningrad and Novosibirsk to the Pinega and Podvinie bring from there hundreds of ancient manuscripts. The latest expedition sponsored by the Pushkin House of the USSR Academy of



Sciences to Pinega in the summer of 1985 found more than 30 manuscripts, some of which books dating from the 15th Century.

The traditional nature of Northern folk culture is not merely the simple preservation of archaic objects. Studies made by folklorists and ethnographers have clearly proved that the traditional folklore forms and ceremonies have been developing starting with the settling of the North in the 12th Century.

To this day folklorists, linguists, music experts and ethnographers obtain in the course of their expeditions ever more interesting data which shed light on the life and origins of a given ceremony, folklore monument or entire genre.

The study of the appearance, durability and changes in ceremonies has its exceptionally important ideological side. As we know, the strongly supported Western theory is that the creators of the spiritual values of society have always consisted of exclusively the ruling classes. The entire centuries-old experience in the birth, establishment and blossoming culture in the Russian North is the most persuasive refutation of this view, for here the insurmountable truth becomes most clear: the real maker of culture has been and remains the people.

3

The historical and cultural wealth of the Russian North is truly unique. Many future generations are as yet to draw spiritual values from this treasury, which is an indivisible part of world culture. This makes even more urgent and important the question of showing concern for it and for preserving monuments of architecture, folklore and popular crafts, of everything which makes the Maritime area famous. Unfortunately, it is painful to note that not everything in this area is as it should be.

Not so long ago a temple entirely identical to the famous Kizhskiy temple (built by the same masters) stood on the Vytegra. However, it burned to the ground because of carelessness. Many people who felt great sadness at this loss have justifiably called for its restoration.

No more than 20 years ago Beloozero was one of the few ancient Russian cities which had retained their full cultural stratum and ancient landscape. Part of the ancient settlement was flooded in 1964 as a result of the reconstruction of the Volga-Baltic water system. The destruction of this monument continued in 1985, when, with the knowledge of the oblast executive committee, the Vologdaobl'selkhozkhimiya Association undertook the construction of a fertilizer warehouse here. An area of about 5 hectares of the ancient cultural stratum was destroyed through suction dredging. For a period of several weeks the bank of the Sheksna was covered by beams of medieval frames and birch scrolls ejected by the suction dredger. We shall never learn how many birch scrolls have been lost forever as a result of such a barbaric treatment of a monument, a valuable part of which was destroyed for the sake of building an ordinary economic project.



Many examples of the wear of ancient architectural monuments could be cited. Examples of crafts are being irreplaceably lost. Whenever people move they throw out old manuscripts (the majority of the population no longer knows how to read them), useless gingerbread decorations and spinning wheels, all that made the charm of the ancient housing.

We are concerned by the possible flooding of territories which contain masterpieces of national and human importance as a result of the implementation of a plan currently under discussion, and the disturbance of the karst in Kargopol, which would directly threaten the monuments found here. We cannot fail to be concerned by the possibility of violating the architectural ensemble of Totma, the loss of church yards in Voloka Slavyanskiy, the archaeological monuments in the area of the Lakes Lacha and Vozha and changes in the natural landscape which is such an organic part of many towns and villages in the Russian North.

One unwittingly also thinks of the fact that significant areas as yet unstudied by the archaeologists may become inaccessible. To this day many Stone Age sites in Kargopolskiy Rayon, and settlements and burial grounds of the 11th-12th Centuries along the banks of Porozovitsa River and Lake Nikolskoye and near Voloka Slavyanskiy remain unstudied. Here and elsewhere we could expect most valuable discoveries of cultural monuments dating from the Mesolithic era; we have not as yet learned about the conditions of "prehistoric" ethnic groups, the ethnic origin of the Finno-Ugric population, the paths of migration and aspects of the life of the first Slavs who entered the North, and the crafts and arts of the population of medieval cities and villages in the Maritime area.

The Russian North is a huge museum spreading over thousands of square kilometers, a museum with a great stock of as yet undiscovered and unstudied exhibits. The preservation of this historical and cultural wealth for our descendants is a task of national importance and our civic and patriotic duty. Everything possible must be done to preserve the North as a single entity. The time has come to raise the question of the juridical protection of priceless historical and cultural resources.

In the case of Voloka Slavyanskiy in the area of Lake Nikolskoye, for example, designers from the Soyuzgiprovdokhoz Institute used the term "historical-landscape zone." They asked the USSR Academy of Sciences Archaeological Institute to delineate the boundaries of such an area covering the territory of this portage. The boundaries, however, could not be confirmed with corresponding design documents similar to the ones usually drafted for the preservation of monuments and their complexes. What this means is that the boundaries of the historical landscape zone thus defined have no juridical validity and do not guarantee the preservation of this historically valuable territory. The legal protection of Voloka Slavyanskiy could be best ensured by giving it the status of historical-cultural preserve. We know that a "territory of a historical-cultural preserve cannot be put to any agricultural or other economic use" (Article 133 of the Regulation on the Preservation and Utilization of Historical and Cultural Monuments).

A minimal requirement in ensuring the protection of monuments on such a historically valuable territory would require the establishment of protected areas and zones with controlled building and preserved landscape (see articles 33 and 34 of the RSFSR law "On the Preservation and Utilization of Historical and Cultural Monuments").

The design organization itself must draft plans for historical-cultural preserves and monument protection zones, while the plans themselves must be coordinated with the proper authorities, including the Central Council of the Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments.

For centuries the Russian North and its national culture have played an active role in shaping general Russian culture, statehood and defense capability. Folk art has influenced Russian music, poetry, painting, architecture and social self-consciousness.

Since the law on the protection of monuments applies to individual architectural systems, it should be observed even more strictly, in our view, in considering problems related to changes in the historical-cultural environment. The careful preservation and skillful utilization of the priceless monuments of the Russian North will become a substantial contribution to the spiritual, patriotic, moral and aesthetic upbringing of the people.

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## BOOK REVIEWS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

### SUCH DIFFERENT WARS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 86 (signed to press 2 Jan 86) p 120

[Text] We are looking at two books: "Doroga na Smolensk" [The Road to Smolensk] and "Rany Soznaniya" [Wounds of Consciousness]. Both were written by American journalists and writers, who had chosen the difficult path of war correspondents. The entire content of these collections was initially for the American mass press and most of the articles were published in it. That is why as we read them we find, despite clear differences based on the authors' individuality, a certain common style, a certain sum total of professional journalistic methods representative of the U.S. newspaper and journal industry.

But it is at that point, however, that any similarity between them ends, for an insurmountable historical gap divides them. The "Road to Smolensk" is a book about a historical exploit in the Great Patriotic War waged by the Soviet people against Hitlerite fascism. "Wounds of Consciousness" is a book about the historical crime of American imperialism and its aggressive war against the people of Vietnam.

The question which can be legitimately asked is the following: what makes us read these books today not separately but together? Above all, the fact that the example they give confirms once again the profound historical truthfulness of the Marxist-Leninist theory of just and unjust wars, and wars of liberation and wars of conquest.

The military publicism of the American journalists and writers does not claim a comprehensive vision of the historical process. On the contrary, the most valuable feature in these books is the artistic study of human destinies, characters and details of life. However, it is through the fabric of these seemingly isolated facts that the conceptual summations inevitably make their way, and lead the American correspondents who worked in the Soviet Union during the Great Patriotic War to sense the historical optimism inherent in the Soviet people defending their socialist fatherland. As to the American literary workers, who were mercilessly thrown by fate into the jungles of Vietnam and forced them to become witnesses to crimes, we justifiably can see in their reports and articles the presence of a common idea which is consciously or subconsciously promoted by the authors of materials on U.S. aggression against the Vietnamese people. This refers to the historical

hopelessness, the difficult ideological and political dead end in which the ruling U.S. circles found themselves, circles which intended to impose by force their will to a freedom loving people. "Wounds of Consciousness" is a very instructive proof of the political and military adventurism which brought tragedy to many hundreds of thousands of people.

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF GREAT TRUTH

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 86 (signed to press 2 Jan 86) pp 120-124

[Review by V. Berezhkov of the book "Doroga na Smolensk" [Road to Smolensk]. American writers and journalists on the 1941-1945 Great Patriotic War of the Soviet People. Progress, Moscow, 1985, 472 pages]

[Text] It was a striking fact, while preparations were underway for making a joint Soviet-American film of the victory of the USSR over fascism, that it was decided to name it, for showing it on U.S. television, "The Unknown War." A more suitable title would have been "The Forgotten War," for in its time the U.S. press extensively covered battles on the Soviet-German front and Americans closely followed the struggle waged by the peoples of the USSR against the Hitlerite aggressors. It is a fact, however, that today, 4 decades later, most Americans know strikingly little about the Great Patriotic War waged by the Soviet people. We encountered in some American colleges young people who thought that in World War II the United States and England fought Germany and... the Soviet Union! The "Unknown War" shown on American television was a real revelation to many. Were "Road to Smolensk" to be published today in the United States would it have been an equal revelation, for that which occurred at that time in the Soviet Union is indeed a blank spot to the broad American public.

Why did this happen? The main reason is the apolitical nature of the American public. Furthermore, many stupid concepts about the Soviet Union are the result of purposeful anti-Soviet and anticommunist propaganda which instills in the Americans the idea that the USSR is "the enemy," and a "threat" to the United States. As a result, many people have developed a distorted image of the land of the soviets, its policies and its decisive contribution to the victory over fascism. It is no accident that an effort was made on the other side of the ocean to ignore the 40th anniversary of the joint victory won by the Soviet and American peoples over the common enemy.

The organizers of the campaign of concealing the experience of the alliance between the USSR and the United States during the war are relying on the fact that many Americans dislike to read serious books and on their tendency to believe what is daily instilled in them by mass information media.

The "Road to Smolensk" is a collection of articles written by American writers, publicists and journalists accredited to Moscow during the war. It is interesting less for the well-familiar facts it mentions than for the way the facts were presented more than 40 years ago by American correspondents and for what precisely the U.S. citizens were learning from such correspondences concerning the struggle waged by the Soviet people against a treacherous and strong enemy which had invaded their land.

The authors of the materials contained in this book include both famous literary workers and at that time little known reporters. However, it was their reports from Moscow that made the names of both popular among millions of Americans. They described the fierce battles on the fields of Russia, the heroism of the Red Army soldiers, the exploits and inhuman efforts of working people in the rear and the firmness, inflexibility and faith in victory shown by the Soviet people. Holding its breath, all America followed this gigantic clash. The cables of the correspondents, who presented day after day the development of events on the Soviet-German front carried across the ocean the fiery breath of blood-shedding battles which had developed on the huge area from the Arctic to the Black Sea.

Millions of Americans were aware of the fact that there, in the Soviet Union, the fate of the United States as well, the fate of all nations which the fascists leaders intended to enslave, was being decided. At that time motion pictures were filmed, books were published and big meetings and demonstrations in support of fighting Russia and on the heroic struggle waged by the Soviet people were being held in the United States. This sharp interest was triggered by the reports sent by American correspondents from the places where such events were happening. The Americans took a new look at the Soviet Union, at the Socialist system, at the united peoples of a huge country who had risen to the struggle for the honor and independence of the homeland.

In his essay "What They are Fighting For," Albert Reece Williams raises the question what the revolution had given the peoples of the Soviet Union. He answers: "It is impossible to understand the source of strength and spirit of the Soviets by focussing exclusively on their shortcomings. Yet that is precisely what has been depicted to our people for the 20 years which preceded the war. The Americans were virtually ignorant of Soviet accomplishments.... Therefore, because of their one-sided and distorted concept of Russia, the Americans could not fail to be amazed at the development of events in that country. They assumed that a country so hopelessly disorganized was larded with Quislings and various traitors. Instead, they saw the Soviet people enter into a duel with the German armies against which the land forces of five great powers had fought in the last war. They had been taught that the Soviets were marching toward medieval times and barbarism. But then they heard statements by leaders such as General MacArthur and Lord Beaverbrook to the effect that the fate of civilization depends on the firmness of the Red Army. They were told that the Soviet people were suppressed and demoralized and were about to rebel and open their arms to the aggressors. Yet they heard Winston Churchill call upon the British to learn from the Soviet people devotion and loyalty to their leaders and government. They found out that almost every Russian man, woman or child is either fighting or working to defend his homeland..." (pp 335-336).



How greatly all of this resembles the present! Again and again we hear from across the ocean lamentations concerning the "inefficiency," "failures," and "decline" of socialism, the "evil empire," and so on. And on each such occasion Americans are "amazed" at the disparity between such fabrications and true Soviet reality and at the accomplishments of the Soviet people in all areas of knowledge, science, technology and culture.

Edgar Snow also wrote about the "secret" of the firmness and endurance of the peoples of the Soviet Union. In one of his correspondences he cites Churchill's statement that "no single government ever created by people could withstand the fierce and merciless strike which Hitler dealt on Russia." Snow further describes the sources of the great strength of resistance to aggression: "...everything which was accomplished at the front and the rear was the result of the guiding will of the Soviet government and the Communist Party. Some of us may not sympathize with them. However, only a blind person would deny today that the triumph of the Red Army is the triumph of Soviet socialism..." (pp 391-392).

The same idea is developed in Richard Lauterbach's essay "It Cemented the Fortress:" "The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a well organized, united and highly centralized party. ...The orders of the leadership reached each primary organization and the warm appeal from below met with immediate response at the top. The party was everywhere. It penetrated remote Belorussian forests, helping to organize the partisan movement; it helped to increase production at Siberian plants; it directed the activities of kolkhozes and guided the press, the theater and the armed forces. The party members had not only a program for action but, which is most essential, the means to implement it.... The party mobilized, trained and ideologically tempered. Everyday it turned to millions of people through the newspaper PRAVDA. It spoke with them through the political instructors in the army and navy. It influenced them through specially trained comrades who remained behind in territories temporarily occupied by the fascists. It cemented the fortress" (p 393).

Lauterbach notes ideas existing in the West about the "enigmatic Russian soul" and the "mystical" and "miraculous" ability for self-sacrifice. He explains to the Americans the true reasons for the invincibility of the USSR. "...Anyone who has seen," he writes, "the way the party functions in Russia in wartime can no longer support the sentimental viewpoint according to which all of this is the triumph of "Russia," i.e., of a vast, rich and thickly populated country. We must admit that this is the triumph of the Soviet Union, i.e., of the Soviet system. Without party leadership and without party members and their supporters, who have played a leading role in everything, and without unity of thought and objectives Russia would have never been able to reach such a striking industrial progress in the 20 years between the Wars" (p 394).

One should not think that the American correspondents who worked in the USSR during the war were supporters of the socialist system or firm friends of the Soviet people. Many of them were not sympathetic to us in the least, preferring the American way of life. However, finding themselves in our country during a period of its most severe trials, they could not fail to see

the real facts and think of the sources of strength of the Soviet system and the staunchness of the Soviet people. Subsequently, the lives of these literary workers took different paths. Some of them, under the influence of the anti-Soviet hysteria which spread in the United States after the war, changed their former views and have now joined the campaign of defaming the Soviet Union. During the war years, however, they found in themselves the courage to tell the truth to the American people and the rest of the world.

I knew personally many of the authors of the materials included in the collection: Henry Cassidy, Richard Lauterbach, Jessica Smith, Harrison Salisbury, Egdar Snow.... Rereading today their exciting correspondences, I see them as they were then, more than 4 decades ago. These were people of different ways of life and views. All of them, however, were united by the single aspiration to describe as accurately as they could what they had seen and experienced as they watched the complex picture of the struggle of the Soviet people fighting the merciless invader. Their descriptions of front line Moscow in the final months of 1941 recreate in the memory pictures of such a distant yet recent past: barrage balloons high in the sky, strict and correct nighttime patrols, checking the passes of the rare passers-by, house windows crisscrossed with paper strips, camouflaged nets and paints on the facades of the Bolshoy Theater, a brought-down Junker displayed for public view on Revolution Square, across from the subway entrance, snow-covered Red Square with dark paths among the snow drifts.... These were the marks of stern wartime Moscow, noted by the watchful eyes of the journalists. Finally, the first victory salvos, the fantastic sight of tracer bullets forming a huge multicolored dome over the city and the gray-green ribbon of captured fascist soldiers shuffling on a clear summer day along Sadovoye Ring...

"Time," Henry Cassidy wrote several years later, "...cannot eradicate from the memory Moscow in World War II, the time of brotherhood in arms, excitement and victories" (ZA RUBEZHOM No 19 1975, p 21).

Particularly interesting are materials dealing with the first stage of the war. At that time American experts, including some members of the U.S. Embassy in the USSR, were predicting the imminent defeat of the Red Army and the fall of Moscow in 4 to 5 weeks. When Averell Harriman, president Franklin Roosevelt's special representative, came together with Lord Beaverbrook to our country in September 1941, Colonel Eaton, the U.S. military attache, recommended to them to complete their talks faster and to leave Moscow which could be taken by the Hitlerites anytime. However, the American journalists, who had a better feel for the atmosphere in the country, had seen the resolve of the Soviet people to defend their capital and their readiness for self-sacrifice and for any type of trial for the sake of the freedom and independence of the homeland. Most of them reached the conclusion that despite all trials and failures the Soviet people would stop the enemy and, in the final account, would defeat fascism. In 1941 Morris Hindus published the book "Hitler Will Not Defeat Russia." His conviction was shared by other American correspondents as well. "The people of Moscow," Cassidy writes, "were scheduled to play an important role in this drama in which the question of the life or death of their city was being decided" (p 57).

A great deal of the materials in this collection are of topical significance. For example, to this day the legend remains in the West about "General Winter," who, allegedly, defeated the Hitlerites by stopping them at the gates of the capital. Cassidy discusses this topic in the chapter on his trip to the Moscow front in December 1941. "The distance from Moscow to the front line," he writes, "was no more than some 100 miles. In 2 days and 2 sleepless nights I was unable to cover that distance. This was the first lesson which General Winter taught me of his power. It became much clearer to me why the Germans fighting the Red Army and the winter were unable to cover this distance. This lesson also proved to me that General Winter was not a Red Army general. Had he existed, this general should have been shot for treason, for he fought exactly as much against the Russians as against the Germans.... During that first winter of the war we heard in Moscow that dark rumors were making the rounds abroad that the winter was entirely on the side of the Russians; it was as though the source of all German troubles was exclusively the weather rather than the Red Army. It was difficult to present this idea to people who had stopped the Germans at Moscow and then did the impossible in the snow and bitter cold to throw the enemy back. General Winter made them suffer and die just as much" (pp 63-64).

Another thought which is relevant today is the underestimating by Hitler of the strength of the Soviet system and tremendous possibilities of the socialist economy. We hear today from across the ocean views that the Soviet system would be unable to withstand a competition with the United States in the course of Washington's development of a new round in the arms race. The aspiration of the present Washington administration to shift the arms race to outer space is related, not in the least, to such hopes. Forty years ago the Hitlerites were cruelly misled by similar self-confidence and arrogance. The same failure would afflict the newly hatched pretenders to world hegemony. "The enemy underestimated the Russian workers," Edgar Snow wrote in the essay "The Evacuation of Industry," "to an even greater extent than he did the Russian soldiers. In other words, he underestimated the entire Russian people: men fighting at the front and women, children and old people working in the rear. ...Although the Germans captured areas on which more than 2,000 industrial enterprises were previously located, in less than 1 year the Russians were able to improve on their prewar indicators in the production of various types of armaments. ...In the 6 months I spent in Russia, in an area with partially evacuated industry, the government planned, built and started a new aviation plant. By the end of 1943, the plant was already producing some 300 bombers per month. The American military specialists considered them the best in the world" (pp 277, 279).

The collection also answers those in the West who still tend to exaggerate the importance of American deliveries to the Soviet Union during the war. Snow describes his conversation with a worker at a war plant, in the course of which he pointed out to his interlocutor that many of the machine tools in her enterprise came from America. "She listened to my explanations," Snow writes, "but they did not seem to make the necessary impression on her.... She answered: 'Your aid is important to us and we are grateful it; but we, in the Soviet Union, think that it is better to do our own fighting than to rely on others. We rely only on the aid which we ourselves give the front.' Other nations," Snow goes on to say, "could hope that America would win their

battles for them, but not the Russians. In the final account, it was precisely this inflexible confidence in their strength that allowed the Russians to accomplish the impossible" (p 278).

The Soviet people gratefully remember the aid provided by the United States and Great Britain to our country during the war. However, what we received was merely a small part of the needs of the front. Furthermore, the Western powers were in no hurry whatsoever to make a substantial contribution to the struggle against the common enemy. By delaying the opening of the second front they were hoping that as Germany would weaken so would the Soviet Union. This was related also to the deliberate interruptions in Anglo-American supplies. It is indicative that such interruptions took place precisely when such materials were most needed, such as, for example, the summer of 1942, when the Hitlerite hordes were rushing to the Volga and the Caucasus. The atom bomb, work on which was being carried in strict secrecy from the Soviet ally, was scheduled to play a special role in the postwar plans of the Western participants in the anti-Hitlerite coalition. The United States intended to use its monopoly of the bomb as an instrument for pressure on the USSR. That is why the Soviet Union had to rely above all on its own forces. Had we weakened our efforts in the hope of allied aid and the promise to open a second front as early as 1942, the USSR would have found itself in a very difficult situation, for actually the landing of American and British forces in Normandy took place only when Washington and London had realized that the USSR was able to defeat Hitlerite Germany by itself.

A significant percentage of the materials in the collection deals with the heroic epic defense of Leningrad. The articles by Mary Reed, Ella Winter and Jessica Smith on the staunchness and self-sacrifice of the people of Leningrad are imbued with a feeling of deep respect for the exploit of the population of the besieged city. Mary Reed, who came to the USSR in 1927 and had worked in one of the Leningrad publishing houses, spent the entire period of the blockade in Leningrad. It was that there that her young son died, working at one of the Leningrad plants. "I saw how Leningrad was holding on," she wrote in her essay 'An American Woman in Besieged Leningrad,' "and I understood the cost of it. It is probably easier to imagine military victories than accomplishments in the field of organization. Yet it was precisely organization that determined the entire way of life in the blockaded city, supporting the invincible spirit of resistance and uniting the entire population. But if the workers were not ready to sacrifice their lives for their plans and if the people of Leningrad were not ready to die for their native city not even the most talented military commander would have been able to defend Leningrad from the invasion of the Hitlerite forces and no skill in organization would have saved the city from internal catastrophe" (p 127).

The American correspondents paid great attention to the battle of Stalingrad. The victory which was won there was immediately assessed by them as a turning point in the course of the entire World War II and as the beginning of the end of Hitler's Reich. Edgar Snow was among the group of correspondents who went to Stalingrad at the beginning of February several days after the surrender of the surrounded enemy group. His essay includes a conversation with prisoners captured by the Soviet troops. Many of them still believed in the German victory. However, there was increasing number of those who had realized the

hopelessness of Hitler's adventure. They included General Seidlitz, who soon afterwards became vice-president of the Free Germany National Committee, and who called upon the German soldiers and officers to put an end to the senseless slaughter.

Here is the way Snow describes the picture seen through the eyes of the correspondents: "...We marched along the city which had become the valley of death. There were no more streets and roads and we cautiously followed the paths among the mine-strewn wreckage.... I realized that all destructions caused by the war which I had already seen in other countries were nothing compared to what had taken place in Stalingrad. To Europe Stalingrad will be the most terrible reminder of the war" (p 187).

Victory, brought about through such tremendous efforts, was approaching: the defeat and seizure of a large fascist group on the banks of the Volga, the crushing blows dealt at the Wehrmacht in the southern sector of the front, and the headlong advance of the Red Army to the West were all reflected in the correspondents' cables.

Quite aptly, at the end of the book, excerpts from statements by noted Americans on the struggle and victory of the Soviet Union in the war are included. They give a high rating to the courage and heroism of the Soviet people and to the decisive contribution made by the USSR to the defeat of the fascist powers. Included here are a brilliant gallery of names: Ernest Hemingway, Theodore Dreiser, Upton Sinclair, Paul Robeson, Pearl Buck, Leopold Stokovski, Lillian Hellman, Dorothy Thompson, Charlie Chaplin, and statesmen such as Roosevelt, H. Wallace, C. Hull, H. Hopkins, H. Morgenthau and Generals MacArthur, Marshall, Patton and Eisenhower, and many, many others. All of them expressed their admiration at the brilliant operations conducted by the Red Army and the staunchness of the Soviet people.

"Had the American people had the opportunity to become closely acquainted with the Russians and they with us, I am convinced that excellent mutual relations and respect between the two nations would have been established," wrote General Eisenhower. "I personally closely cooperated with Marshal Zhukov and others and I have the greatest respect for them. I have always gotten along with them... I do not feel even the slightest apprehension concerning friendly relations between our country and Soviet Russia. Naturally, some friction will exist in our relations but, in the final account, matters will always be settled" (p 413).

One can only regret that these good feelings were soon afterwards frozen by the icy winds of the Cold War.

An interesting preface to the collection has been written by S. Dangulov, the noted Soviet writer, who worked during the war in the press section of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, and who shares his recollections of his contacts with American correspondents and of taking trips with them to the fronts of the Great Patriotic War.

The publication of this book is a good and useful undertaking by Izdatelstvo Progress. The Soviet reader is given the opportunity to become familiar in a



Russian translation with what American writers, publicists and journalists saw and described to their compatriots more than 40 years ago concerning the great exploit of the Soviet people.

This book becomes particularly significant today, when hope has appeared for a turn for the better in Soviet-American relations. Although, as before, essential differences remain on a number of most important problems of our time, above all that of ending the arms race on earth and preventing the militarization of outer space, after the Geneva summit between M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and President Ronald Reagan, the start has been made of a dialogue which could subsequently yield positive changes. The results of the summit meeting are also of major importance in improving bilateral Soviet-American relations. That is why it is pertinent to recall today the experience of cooperation between the USSR and the United States in World War II, during the time when both states were allied in the struggle against the common enemy. This book is a noteworthy confirmation of this fact.

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## 'LESSON OF THE RABBIT' AND THE LESSONS OF HISTORY

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[Review by A. Bovin of the book "Rany Soznaniya. Amerikanskiye Pisateli i Zhurnalisty ob Agressii SSHA vo Vyetname" [Wounds of Consciousness. American Writers and Journalists on U.S. Aggression in Vietnam]. Progress, Moscow, 1985, 448 pp]

[Text] "Sometimes the unofficial order to kill may be described symbolically, as for example with the 'lesson of the rabbit,' taught to marines. One day before being shipped to Vietnam, in explaining the means of waging jungle warfare, the sergeant holds in front of him a rabbit. In the course of the hour the students become accustomed to the rabbit and begin to feel a certain sympathy for it, at which point 'the sergeant hits it sharply on the head, peels off its hide, opens its stomach and... throws the insides at the students.' One of the recruits recalls the lesson in those terms: 'Take this any way you wish but this is a clear lesson which you are taught at home before being shipped out to Vietnam.'"

This expressive excerpt is from an essay by the known American psychiatrist and journalist Jay Lifton entitled "Wounds of Consciousness." It has provided the title for a collection on the war waged by the United States in Vietnam, published by Izdatelstvo Progress. The collection includes a novel, a novella, articles, documentary studies and publicistic materials. The authors are Americans, people who stayed decent for which reason they could not accept the war in Vietnam.

For professional reasons I have steadily and closely followed events in Vietnam. I believe that I am well familiar with the events, circumstances and atmosphere of those years. Nevertheless, "Rany Soznaniya" has added substantial new facets and colors to my concepts about the most shameful war in the history of the United States.

In my view, two dimensions are pivotal in the collection. The first is the extreme, the maximal cruelty and inhumanity of the Americans who fought in Vietnam and the scandalous immorality of their actions. The second is the absurdity, the irrationality of what they were doing in that country, their illogical behavior on practically all levels of military and political command.

All of us remember the My Lai tragedy. On 16 March 1968, Charlie Company, attached to Colonel Barker's tactical group (11th Light Infantry Brigade, Americal Division), killed 347 Vietnamese in that village. Here is the way Seymour Hirsh, Pulitzer Prize winner, describes this crime committed by the unruly soldiery: "One hundred American soldiers and officers took the village according to all the rules of military science, advancing in platoon strength, expecting to fight the 48th Vietcong Battalion, an elite enemy unit. Instead, what they found were old people, women and children, many of whom were just beginning to boil their rice for breakfast on their doorsteps. In the course of the next few hours the village population was mercilessly destroyed. Some were herded together and shot dead. Others were flung into the sewer ditch at the edge of the village and killed there. An even larger number of people were killed by random fire directly in their homes and their yards. Girls and younger women were raped first and killed afterwards. After killing the population, the American soldiers burned the village down, methodically setting fire to one house after another, killing the cattle, destroying food stocks and polluting all sources of drinking water" (p 277). Here is a description of that day as recalled by one of the participants in the My Lai slaughter: "Here, in Vietnam, people are being killed for no reason whatsoever.... Under different circumstances this would have seemed to us a crime. Here you advance and simply kill them.... No one blames you. On the contrary, everyone cheers you up. Normal life had become a thing of the distant past. You turn into an animal for whom nothing but the present exists, which no longer thinks..." (p 421).

The American military authorities tried to conceal the crime (Hirsh's investigation is entitled precisely, "Cover Up"). However, under the pressure of the public the Pentagon was forced to start looking for scapegoats. In September 1969 Lieutenant William L. Calley Jr (commander of the first platoon, Charlie Company) was charged with "crimes allegedly committed against the civilian population" (p 308). In November of that year a commission was set up to conduct a preliminary investigation of the incident. It was headed by Lieutenant General William R. Pierce. On 17 March 1970 Pierce announced that 14 officers had been indicted. The list was headed by Major General Samuel W. Coster, commander of the Americal division in 1968, and at the time of the investigation superintendent of West Point, the U.S. military academy. Coster was charged with violation of military statutes and official duty.

Meanwhile the Calley trial followed its course. On 31 March 1970 he was given a life sentence, which was reduced to 20-year 5 months later. Calley was released in September 1974 "for model behavior." As to the list of officers made public by Gen Pierce, charges against 13 of them were dropped before matters went to trial. Only one of them was tried and cleared.

The actual refusal of the authorities to punish the killers in uniform is not astonishing, for killing civilians was the rule rather than the exception.

Here is a sketch drawn by journalist Michael Arlen: ...this is taking place in the officers' club. A helicopter crew has just come back from a combat mission. Morley Seifer, CBS correspondent, is talking with them. I quote: "the flyers smile, they are relaxed and are resting, walking around holding

beer mugs. They are all nice boys. Seifer asks: 'What do you feel when you kill people this way?'

"A captain: 'When we are doing this I feel perfect. I feel a certain sense of doing my duty. The only way to win, I think, is to kill them.'

"Third pilot: 'I see the people as targets. You see, here we shoot at the Vietnamese, at the Vietcong, the way we shoot at targets in the United States.'

"Another pilot' voice, interrupting: 'Specifically the Vietcong. You are shooting at the Vietcong, not the Vietnamese.'

"Third pilot (laughing): 'Fine. We are shooting at the Vietcong. When we see them running and when they get between the the cross hairs it is exactly as if these were targets or whatever. We simply squeeze the trigger, drop a couple of rockets as if they they are not people'" (pp 276-377).

War is war. In war one kills. But here are statistics: 90 out of 100 killed Vietnamese were civilians. This is no longer war. This is organized, planned barbarism. It is a crime. The mentality of these obscene criminals is this: You "simply" squeeze the trigger,... you shoot at dummies... it is as if these were not people.

Nevertheless, even an animal "which is no longer thinking," has something human. The Americans would like to justify themselves. No, they are not killing Vietnamese but the Vietcong, i.e., soldiers, resistance fighters. A soldier is shooting at another soldier. War by the book. That is what they say although they hardly believe their own words. The racists in America remained racists in Vietnam as well. They despised both those they had come to fight and those they had come to defend. In William Wilson's "The LBJ Brigade" (refused publication in the United States, for which reason it was published for in Great Britain first), Captain Shine calls the Vietnamese "yellow darkies..." (p 178). We read in it the following "joke:" "The only way to solve the Vietnamese problem is the following: all friendly Vietnamese must be loaded on ships and taken out to the South China Sea. You then bomb the country to smithereens and then sink the ships" (p 255).

Why was the war fought? The official answer is to stop communism. But every day spent in Vietnam destroyed the propaganda stereotypes, broke down the standard myths with its cruel and dirty reality. Here is a monologue by an American soldier in Saigon: "Everything is for sale here--alcohol, women, opium. We have not even walked a block and several pimps have already attached themselves to us. It turns out we are here to defend the way of life of pimps, tarts and flunkies. There may be others but these others do not show up when soldiers walk the streets" (p 179). However, in turn, the discovery made by this recruit, that "we are here to defend the way of life of pimps, tarts and flunkies" is also imaginary. "...If you intend to come out alive," the sergeant instructs that same recruit, "remember what I am telling you. Forget anything they told you in the States. You are not fighting communists.... You are not fighting for freedom, for America or for the neighborhood whore. You are fighting to stay alive. There is nothing simpler

than deciding who to shoot at. If he is not white, shoot. This is a race war, kid.... We, the whites are fighting the colored. ...Forget this and you are a corpse..." (p 191).

There it is, the supreme wisdom: "Shoot the yellows" to stay alive. Kill to save yourself. It is not astounding that the obvious senselessness of such a war led to the degradation, to the breakdown of the individual. For the consciousness of many was unable to withstand this moral burden, the constant and exhausting fear of death, and the absurdity, the irrationality of events. Probably no single war fought by Americans has resulted in such a high number of mental disorders. "Any soldier would tell you," writes Michael (Gerr), ESQUIRE correspondent, "that all other members of his platoon are psychos. Everyone knows a soldier who has lost his mind in the heat of battle, on patrol, back in the camp, on leave or even a month after coming home. Insanity has become an inseparable part of military service here and one can only hope that this will not happen to you, that insanity is not at hand, making you slaughter strangers or lob hand grenades in latrines" (p 255).

Naturally, not everyone went crazy. But the moral erosion, the poison of antihumanism and inhumanity, and the release and surfacing of the animal in man affected everyone. The reasons are the same. "The moral breakdown of the American soldiers," says Jay Lifton, "was caused not only by the total loss of moral guidelines but also by the absurdity of events in which killing becomes the rule of behavior, and the inability to justify it.... Nothing could give meaning to the military operations; on the contrary, they became part of a general absurdity, an antimeaning" (p 422). This somewhat abstract formulation of the question requires substantial refinements. The reason, precisely, is that for the Vietnamese patriots the war was imbued with a most profound meaning and it was precisely for that reason that Americans were tortured by its senselessness. They were rejected by the land of Vietnam. They were hated by the people they had come to defend. The problem they wanted to solve had no rational solution. This was realized in a clear and precise manner not immediately and by no means by everyone. However, virtually everyone could sense, could feel this, from private to general.

As we saw, soldiers went crazy, turning into a bunch of killers. Generals lost their ability to lead their troops sensibly, to conduct military operations. "...the key word in the military mission was 'control'" we read in M. (Gerr's) "Reports." "Control over the flow of arms, control over information, control over resources, political-psychological control, control over the population, control over inflation which had assumed supernatural dimensions, control over the territory, supported by the strategic course. However, when there were no more speeches, invariably the only thing that held true was the sensation that everything, in fact, had run out of control" (p 245). The vaunted American technology and force was there. This force, however, proved to be helpless. "Sometimes it seemed that the war itself had grown weak: the epic dimensions had weakened, a semi-insane military machine was running somewhere by itself, in a state of total depression, fed by the thinned remnants of past strength. Entire divisions operated as though in a nightmarish sleep, engaging in unintelligible operations with no logical connection to their main task whatsoever" (p 251). Incidentally, the words "nightmarish sleep" are just about the most frequently used term in describing

the events in Vietnam. They could be interpreted as a metaphor, remembering that the "nightmarish sleep" was the result of nightmarish reality.

The American authors do not only note and describe what they saw. They wish to draw lessons from the Vietnam tragedy. They seek the reasons for the dehumanizing of American in Vietnam. They would like to understand why the great America tied itself to the pillar of shame. They name in this connection the cult of violence and racism without which one cannot imagine today's America and which lead to the degeneracy of the individual. Naturally, the reasons which motivated Lt Calley's behavior and the behavior of President Lyndon Johnson, shall we say, were quite different. However, there is an essential similarity between them, described by "psychohistorian" Jay Lifton: "Analyzing the events in Vietnam from the positions of psychohistory, one reaches the conclusion that the "distorted perception of reality" of the American soldiers is the direct result of the distorted concept of reality on a national scale. This distorted perception is based on a total cosmology which reached its peak in the postwar years of the Cold War and has not lost any of its strength today, which pits absolute American purity against absolute communist depravity" (p 433).

Does this last thesis not sound quite recent? Very recently, we once again heard about the "empire of good," fighting the "empire of evil." This leads us to the main question: what did Americans learn in Vietnam, what lessons did they draw out of the bitter experience of the Vietnamese war? It seemed at one point that the experience had not been lost. It was as though self-confidence had diminished. Serious thought was given to the fact that social changes and the aspiration of the peoples for independence had been brought to life not by "Moscow's intrigues" but by profound reasons and that, consequently, it would be foolish and futile to use military power against the course of history. Woodrow Wilson's words were remembered: "...the effort to stop a revolutionary movement which has raised armies is like trying to stop a flood with a broom."

Unfortunately, this bright interval was short. In recent years the United States has returned to the times of total anticommunist cosmology. The collapse of the adventure in Vietnam is now explained not in terms of the basic erroneousness of the objective but merely as insufficiently planned means. The following is claimed: We were sorry for the Vietnamese and for ourselves: we paid too much attention to public opinion, we fought at half strength. Instead, we should have fought to the end...

Within the framework of a general neoconservative course oriented toward sociopolitical revenge and a kind of capitalist renaissance, Washington is openly supporting counterrevolutionary groups, above all in Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Angola and Cambodia. Within the framework of this same course a line is followed of destroying military-strategic parity, gaining superiority over the Soviet Union and thus achieving a decisive change in the correlation of world forces, a change in favor of capitalism, in favor of the United States. Instead of looking for a political solution of topical problems, they are counting on the latest "miracle weapon" (now a space weapon), which will ensure America's absolute safety and, therefore (they would rather keep silent about this) the absolute unsafety of others.



All of this has already happened and we have heard it all. "Personalities proclaiming the advent of Judgment Day, maniacs who deify technology, who wave chemical weapons, gases, lasers and supernew electric sound still on the drawing board.... Deep within everyone there is the dream of the last resort: the nuclear bomb. How they loved to recall that we have it 'right here, on the spot'" (p 256). This is what Michael (Gerr) wrote in 1977. The same could be written in 1986. This is a complete cycle... the American right, those same people who wanted to give within the country scope for a system of resembling a kind of social Darwinism are dreaming of the restoration of "true patriotism," which immediately after Vietnam, sounded like a curse, and quite seriously talk about divine providence which allegedly has assigned for the United States the role of world leader and world policeman.

Let us be realistic. America is quite strong. Imperialism and reaction are resisting and will continue to resist. That is why Chile and Grenada are examples of events which could be repeated elsewhere and at different times. However, these are already the rearguard battles of the past with the future. This is no longer the rule but the exception. The rule is Vietnam. Whatever may have happened there, the Americans will not be able to adapt the world to their own interests and policies. Sooner or later--as Vietnam tells us--they will have to adapt to the world in which they live. The sooner the better.

Finally, "Rany Soznaniya" does not make entertaining reading. These are tragic and merciless pages imbued with bitter irony. It is hard to read them. One becomes furious. I realized that by no means are all Americans like Lt Calley. However, the likes of him exist. They quieted down after Vietnam but now, once again, they have taken up the American variant of "...uber alles." That is why the story of almost 20-year old events helps better to understand present-day America.

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